TURNER'S VISIONS OF ROME

THOMAS ASHBY

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By
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TURNER'S VISIONS OF ROME

I

Introduction

TO those who only know his pictures in oils Turner's sketches and drawings come as a great surprise. The collection which he bequeathed to the nation contains over 19,000 pieces of paper that have been drawn upon; and the drawings are in the most diverse states of completeness and perfection, ranging from a hasty pencil sketch in a tiny notebook, to a beautifully coloured drawing based upon a careful pencil outline. It is, of course, only since the publication of Mr. Finberg's "Complete Inventory of the Drawings of the Turner Bequest" (London, 1909), that the collection has been at all readily accessible for study; and even so, it is only the 600 odd exhibited drawings (consisting of four groups which are shown in rotation) that have become at all familiar to the general public. The vast majority of these are coloured, and the pencil drawings are really very little known.

On his first visit to Rome in 1819, Turner was at the height of his powers; and he devoted to the city and its neighbourhood far more attention than to any other part of Italy, using over 600 leaves of several sketchbooks, many of which are also drawn upon the reverse. Comparatively few (one twentieth, according to Mr. Finberg's reckoning) of them are coloured—it was not, as we shall see, his usual practice, when travelling, to colour in the field; and he did not, it would seem, go back to work up these memoranda afterwards. Indeed it is surprising how little use he really made of them, and how little store he seemed to set by them.

To us, on the other hand, they are a treasure without price; and this special group, dealing with the city of Rome, which we have selected for examination, has an interest of its own. Apart from their great artistic merits they are extraordinarily valuable as very careful renderings of what Turner actually saw before him, now that Rome, as the Capital of Italy, has grown out of all knowledge, and has quintupled her population

since Turner's time. Mr. Finberg's supposition[1] that their "value from a topographical point of view—i.e., as giving information pure and simple—is probably diminished by the fact that the material they contain is so skilfully selected and arranged" is, as I have already pointed out[2] entirely incorrect. I have tested them in details, and have in every case found the representation to be scrupulously accurate. Mr. Finberg's criticism of them, as probably unsatisfactory from Turner's own point of view, is, I think, just; his omnivorous taste included many drawings of small cinerary urns in the Vatican Museum, and he even took the trouble to copy the inscriptions upon them, as he did the inscription on the Arch of Constantine; though sculpture as such obviously did not interest him, any more than did the human figure, of which we find very few studies in the whole vast range of his drawings.

But for the present this matters little to us. Turner would probably not have been at all pleased had we devoted so much attention to these drawings, and so little to the pictures that grew out of them. We may, however, perhaps be permitted in this instance to take our own point of view, and not to criticise these drawings for not being what they are not meant to be, but to regard them in and for themselves; and as such we shall find them entirely deserving of Ruskin's praise[3] as being "the best drawings made by Turner from Nature." "All the artist's powers," he says, "were at this period in perfection; none of his faults had developed themselves, and his energies were taxed to the utmost to seize, both in immediate admiration, and for future service, the loveliest features of some of the most historically interesting scenery in the world. There is no exaggeration in any of these drawings, nor any conventionalism but that of outline. They are in all respects the most fine and the most beautiful ever made by the painter. The quantity of detail given in their distances can only be seen, in a natural landscape, by persons possessing the strongest and finest faculties of sight; and the tones of colour adopted in them can

[1] "Turner's Sketches and Drawings," 93.

[2] BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, XXIV, 218-224; *cf.* XXV, 98-104; 241-247. I am indebted to the Editor for kind permission to make use of part of the substance of these articles.

[3] "Turner Catalogue" (1881). National Gallery edition, 1899, p. 37.

only be felt by persons of the subtlest colour-temperament, and happily trained colour disposition."

The rapidity with which Turner's pencil worked is remarkable; he was not in Rome and its neighbourhood for more than three months at the most; but as a distinguished artist of the present day once said to me, "Turner never had to rub out."

It is a great pleasure to turn over the leaves of one of these sketchbooks and follow Turner, as he wandered along the right bank of the Tiber, and drew the old church of S. Paul outside the walls, which was burnt down only four years later; and then further upstream on the same afternoon, drew the Aventine as it is seen overhanging the river, and those portions of the walls of Aurelian which lie nearest to the Tiber, now so largely destroyed or concealed by modern buildings. Or again we may follow him at the Villa Madama on the heights overlooking the Ponte Molle; or on the further side of the Via Flaminia, whence the other side of the bridge and the curve of the Tiber at the Acqua Acetosa are the most prominent of nearer objects, while the snowy Apennines are indicated with a few masterly strokes in the distance. Even Mr. Finberg cannot help "waxing enthusiastic over the exquisitely deft and graceful play of hand, the subtle observation, and the almost superhuman mastery of the design." It is because Turner's sketches were never intended for any other eye but his own that they must be regarded very differently from John Cozens' not less beautiful water-colours, which were worked up off the spot from studies from nature, with a certain amount of arbitrary changes. Of these indeed different versions often exist, intended for different patrons. In them we naturally miss the precision which we find in Turner's sketches,[4] and they should rather be compared with his pictures. I have not had the good fortune to see the Beckford sketchbooks of John Cozens, so as to be able to compare them with those of Turner; but as it does not seem that the original sketches for any of the views in Rome and its neighbourhood are preserved, this perhaps matters less.

For the same reason, that Turner put down exactly what

[4] Contrast Cozens' rendering of Tivoli (Plate XX of the Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue) with that of Turner (our Plate 25) where the point of view is much the same.

he saw, questions of design and composition do not come in. Evidence of alteration to suit his purpose I have not been able to find; he appears to have registered with absolutely scrupulous accuracy what was before him, at any rate in the drawings we have selected. Rougher sketches of course there are, but this is probably simply a question of time; and it is wonderful that he did accomplish so much. The most then that we can criticise, once we have admitted that he was doing this particular thing for his own purposes and his own private pleasure and use, is his choice of subject and choice of point of view; and here, I think, we cannot but commend him highly.

An interesting characteristic of these drawings is the fact that the same buildings and natural features frequently recur in them from different points of view. This will be noticed even in the selection presented here, and is far more prominent when the original sketchbooks are examined.

Sometimes this Turner, strange to those who know his ordinary aspect, will ascend to such a vantage point as the tower of the Capitol, or the summit of the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano near the Forum, and execute two panoramas, each occupying two leaves of a sketchbook, so that we have the whole circle of vision presented to us.

I think we may claim that both for their artistic beauty and for their intrinsic interest these drawings of Turner's rank very high among the representations of Rome as it was, and as alas! we shall see it no longer. Much, it is true (though not all) of the destruction was inevitable, and indissolubly bound up with the development of Rome, since 1870 the capital of a great country; and that development is even now proceeding faster, perhaps, than that of any other city in the world. The character of the Campagna, once a desert, and now already in considerable measure coming under cultivation, has radically changed within my own recollection, which goes back no further than 1890. But very much of beauty is still left, both within the city and without it; and the wonderful lights of sunrise and sunset, the atmosphere, so clear without ever being hard, the background of mighty mountains on the east, and of lesser hills on the north and south, as one looks from any point of vantage in or just outside Rome—all that can never change.

PLATE 1. THE TIBER—PENCIL
(CLXXXIX, 24: *National Gallery, No.* 298)

Despite Mr. Ruskin's warning that these drawings are "essentially Turnerian, representing those qualities of form and colour in which the painter himself most delighted, and which persons of greatly inferior or essentially different faculties need not hope for benefit by attempting to copy," one cannot but feel glad that the traditional connexion of the best young British artists with Rome, which of late years had been almost entirely broken, has now been renewed.

II

Turner's Earliest Italian Sketches

There are a number of drawings of Rome and its neighbourhood which, as being copies of other artists' works, executed before Turner ever visited Italy, do not enter into our survey.[5] The best known of these are the splendid water-colours after Hakewill's pencil sketches. The latter were all executed in 1816-17, before Turner had ever been to Italy.

Despite what earlier critics have said to the contrary, there is no practical doubt that Turner, who in some cases (and some only) might have corrected his impressions during or after his visit to Italy, did not, as a fact, do anything of the kind. I fully agree with Mr. Rawlinson's remark ("Water-colours of Turner," p. 18), that they were probably all finished before he left England. This being so, it is perhaps surprising how high are the prices that have been reached by these water-colours. Six of them, from Dr. Munro's collection, were sold at Christie's on April 29, 1869 (Lots 141-146), and fetched respectively £110 5s. 0d. (Hakewill, No. 25, *Rome from Monte Mario*); £233 2s. 0d. (No. 21, *Forum*); £126 0s. 0d. (No. 20, *Forum from Capitol Tower*); £267 15s. 0d. (No. 37, *Cæcilia Metella*); £236 15s. 0d. (No. 58, *Florence from Fiesole*); and £351 15s. 0d. (No. 49, *Florence from Ponte alla Carraia*). No. 58 was exhibited by Messrs. Agnew in April and May, 1913,

[5] Such, too, are water-colours like that of Tivoli executed in 1817 (Bell, "Exhibited Works," p. 52, No. 78), which is a view looking down the gorge, and the view looking up the gorge at South Kensington (No. 3054/76 : "Catalogue of Water-colours," p. 361), which was reproduced in an article on Horace's Villa at Tivoli by Mr. G. H. Hallam and myself in the "Journal of Roman Studies" (IV, pl. XVII).

in aid of the funds of the Artists' Benevolent Fund (No. 112 of the Catalogue), and they also exhibited his drawings for Hakewill, No. 8, *Narni, Bridge of Augustus* (Catalogue No. 112A), 42, *Lake of Nemi* (104),[6] 62, *Isola Bella* (101), 63, *Turin from the Superga* (98).[6] Mr. Ruskin gave 500 guineas and more for No. 7, *Cascade of Terni* (No. 16 of his own catalogue) at Christie's, which, like No. 25 (Ruskin, No. 17), did not pass into Messrs. Agnew's hands.

It has been already pointed out by Mr. C. F. Bell ("Turner and his Engravers" in "The Genius of Turner," p. E. vi), that whereas "the eighteen drawings to illustrate the 'Tour of Italy' are apparently none of them dated, it is known that Hakewill's original sketches, upon which they were founded, were made in 1816-17, while the earliest plate, the *Bridge and Castle of Saint Angelo* (No. 10) appeared on October 1, 1818, and the last, the *Forum Romanum,* was published upon August 1, 1820.

"Writers who ought to have known better have allowed it to be inferred from their words that the Hakewill subjects were drawn in the first instance from Nature by Turner, although it is certain that only the seven latest published plates can have benefited even in their final retouching from his personal knowledge of the scenes they represent."

Mr. Bell's statement can be confirmed by an examination of Hakewill's original pencil sketches, which form a part of the collection of over 300 pencil drawings by him, presented to the British School at Rome by the executors of the late Mr. Michael Tomkinson, of Franche Hall, Kidderminster. All of those subsequently engraved in "The Tour of Italy" bear dates between June, 1816 (No. 63), and June, 1817 (No. 62).

Unfortunately, several of Hakewill's sketches corresponding with the engravings (most, I imagine, if not all, of the nineteen which are not in the possession of the School, including nine of those which were redrawn by Turner for the engravers) had been placed in, and were sold with, the copy of Hakewill's Italy in Mr. Tomkinson's library, though they were not catalogued with it. This copy was bought by Messrs.

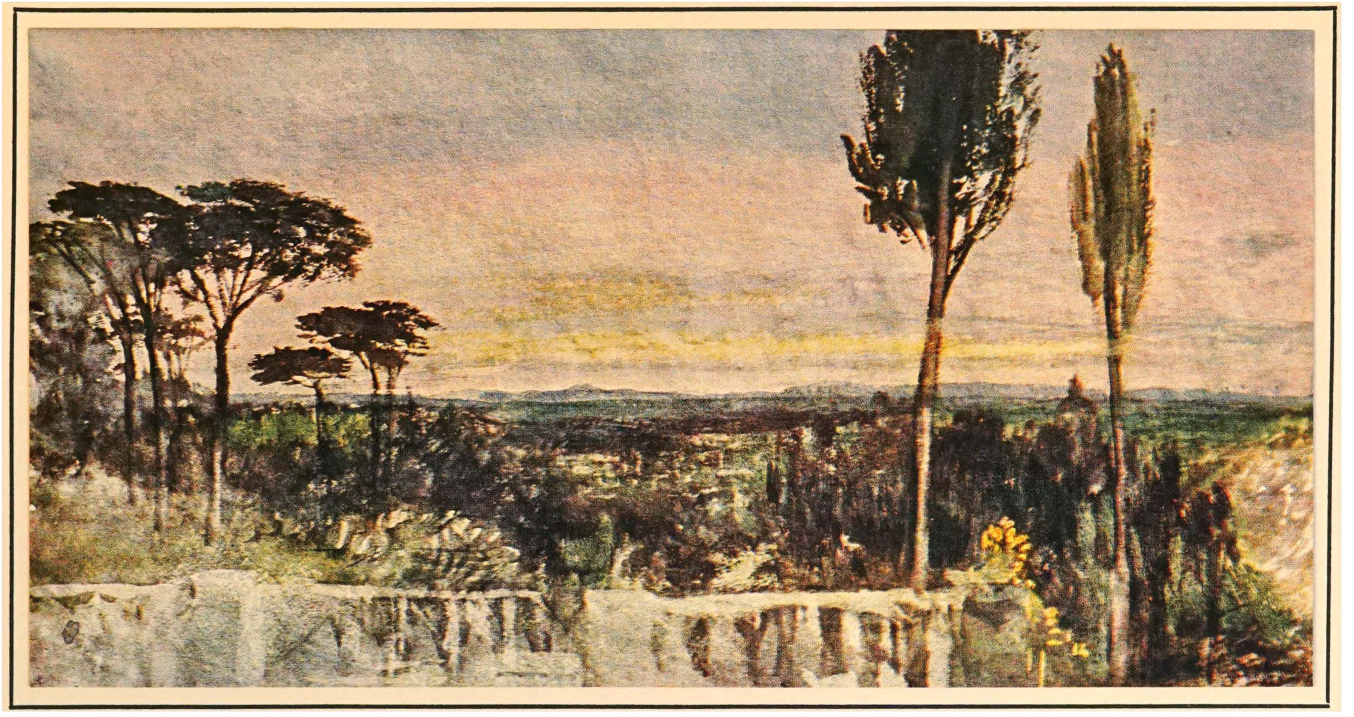
[6] "The Water-colours of J. M. W. Turner" (STUDIO, 1909), Pls. XI (42), XII (63).

PLATE 2

GARDENS OUTSIDE ROME

(*CXC*, 64)

It is not difficult to fix our point of view—it is the prominent spur of Monte Mario, crowned by the Villa Mellini, which projects towards the Tiber to the south of the Villa Madama. The dome of S. Peter's and the northern part of the city are faintly seen.



Bumpus at Sotheby's in July, 1922, for a client whose identity has so far not been disclosed. For this reason, and also owing to the non-existence of reproductions of any of the others of Turner's water-colours after Hakewill, I have only been able to make the comparison in two instances—Nos. 42 (*Nemi*—IV, 20 in the set of drawings) and 63 (*Turin from the Superga*—II, 17), of Hakewill with the two water-colours reproduced in "The Water-colours of J. M. W. Turner" (Pls. XI, XII) cited above. Now, the original of the *Nemi* was drawn in April, 1817; but the colouring is not an April colouring at all. The engraving was published on December 1, 1819, and it is more than doubtful whether Turner had seen the lake before he made the sketch. He has suppressed the sea between the coast and Monte Circeo, and slightly changed the lines of the hills to suit himself. The original of the view of Turin was drawn in June, 1816; but Turner has put in far more snow than Hakewill ever saw, and has completely changed the outlines of the mountain peaks. That lofty range of dazzling white in the left centre has no parallel in the original pencil sketch. As the engraving was published on March 1, 1820, Turner had had an opportunity (for he had been to the Superga[7] the year before) of using his own impressions. The *Nemi* may be contrasted, and the contrast is an interesting one, with J. R. Cozens' many representations of the same subject. Cozens, as has been remarked, brought a cold dark northern colouring into his rendering of the scene, while in Turner's version the scene is all aglow with sunlight.

From a less material point of view we may recall Mr. Ruskin's enthusiasm for the seven water-colours which were once in his own possession, five of which figured in Agnew's Catalogue of 1913.[8]

He describes them (p. 22) as "a series which expresses the mind of Turner in its consummate power, but not yet in its widest range. Ordering to himself still the same limits in method and aim, he reaches under these conditions the summit of excellence, and of all these drawings there is but one

[7] Finberg, *Inv.*, p. 508—sketchbook CLXXIV, 36.

[8] "Notes by John Ruskin on his Water-colours by J. M. W. Turner, R.A.," Nos. 12-18. The two of which we have spoken were among them, and also Nos. 7, 8, 25, 58, 62, of the Hakewill series.

criticism possible—they 'cannot be better done.'"

Let us now, however, pass to the more immediate subject of our study—a selection from the "Visions of Rome" that Turner acquired at first hand.

III

Turner's Visits to Rome

Turner's first visit to Rome in 1819 was due to Sir Thomas Lawrence's entreaties to their common friends in the summer of that year (*cf.* the letter to Lysons, quoted in Williams' "Sir Thomas Lawrence," II, 161, and that to Joseph Farington, *ibid,* 190). But Lawrence, who himself was receiving every honour imaginable, had little or no time for Turner. "The President's Letters," says Mr. Bell, "are almost invariably filled with the record either of his own artistic triumphs, or of the relaxation which he permitted himself occasionally to take in the company of very great people. Indeed, so much is this the case that having induced Turner to come to Rome, he entirely neglected to mention his presence there. The landscape painter would, to be sure, have found himself sufficiently ill at ease in the society of the Metternichs in real life, and perhaps Lawrence thought it better to keep him out of it even on paper. Fortunately, however, he has noted in another letter the period of Turner's departure."[9]

Lawrence did not himself leave Rome till the 22nd of December, 1819 (Williams, II, 221). At what date Turner left England, or when he reached Rome, is uncertain. He did not stay any length of time in Paris (CLXXIII).[10]

He crossed the Mont Cenis, thence went to Turin, Como, Lago Maggiore, Milan, Venice (CLXXIV, CLXXV), thence to Bologna, Rimini, and Ancona (CLXXVI). Thence he went on by Loreto, Macerata, Foligno, and Terni (from which he visited Piediluco), Narni, and Civita Castellana to Rome (CLXXVII).

[9] "Genius of Turner," E. vii. The letter is quoted by Williams, II, 235 (February, 19, 1820, from Cremona). "By this time Mr. Turner is returned to you" (*cf.* p. 226).

[10] The references here as elsewhere are to Mr. Finberg's numbering in his valuable Inventory of the Drawings of the Turner Bequest.

PLATE 3. STONE PINES ON MONTE MARIO—PENCIL.
(*CLXXXIX*, 11; *National Gallery, No.* 263)

The guide-book which served Turner on the journey is still preserved among the sketchbooks (No. CCCLXVII), inasmuch as it contains a number of slight pencil notes and sketches. Its title is as follows :—

"Itinerary of Italy; or Traveller's Guide," by M. Reichard, with three large and correct Maps, London : Printed for Samuel Leigh, 18 Strand, MDCCCXVIII. I have not been able to consult a copy of this work in Rome.[11] No. CCCLXVIII B, too, is a sheet of writing, containing information about Florence and Parma, in what Mr. Finberg believes to be Hakewill's handwriting. I may remark in regard to the latter place that "Antiquities found in the buried ancient town of Villcia" should undoubtedly be "Veleia."

He also benefited by Hakewill's advice: indeed the "Route to Rome" Sketchbook (CLXXI) is in effect a MS. guide-book, written specially for Turner's benefit by Hakewill with all sorts of hints as to what should be seen in each place, prices to be paid, etc., with notes as to distances added by Turner at the beginning, and a few sketches also added by him. The notes affecting Rome are as follows: (I have corrected obvious errors in spelling) (p. 13 ff.) "Take some mode of travelling gently to Rome (from Florence) as Perugia, Spoleto, Terni, Narni, Civita Castellana should all be stopped at.

"Go to Dee's, corner of the Piazza di Spagna and the Via della Croce and buy for me 4 Cameos on shells (unmounted). Subjects for a necklace. And a Mosaic, a little larger, for a locket, a large butterfly or a basket of flowers. Buy for me a head of the Pope in imitation of a gem, and the paste of it to take impressions from—probably 2/6 will purchase both.

"Go to Franz's[12] in the Strada Condotti—Table d'Hôte good." (It is also mentioned as the best in Rome, 'where the price, previous to the late great influx of the English, was four Roman Pauls; at present it is six' (Coxe, 'Picture of Italy,' 187), and in several other guide-books of the period). "Get the English guide-book. I forget the name—I wish you could get

[11] I find that a French edition of it was published at Weimar in 1825 (Blanc, Bibliographie Italico-Française, I, 905).

[12] Franz Roesler, a Swiss. The family, under the name of Roesler Franz, still lives in Rome.

our Servant Lorenzo. Enquire of Mr. Chiavari, the Banker for him—or of Mr. Joseph Modetti, on the Corso near the Piazza Colonna, on the right going down the street.

"Hire a couple of horses and a guide and make one tour to Albano, Marino, Grotta Ferrata, Frascati and Tivoli and back to Rome. There is a good map of the environs of Rome.

"Cameriere, not laquais de place. Usual pay of a Cameriere 9 scudi per month.

Monaldini, in the Piazza di Spagna. } Booksellers, etc.
Vasi in the Strada Babuino. }

See Camuccini's pictures and notice a small crucifixion by Vandyke."

Turner had also prepared himself for the journey by making small pen and ink sketches from the "Select Views in Italy," published by John Smith, William Byrne, and John Emes in 1792-6 (No. CLXXII). Of this work there are two editions; the first is in oblong folio and corresponds to the above description, except that the second book, published in 1796, was printed, not by T. Chapman, but by W. Bulmer & Co., and that J. Edwards' name has taken the place of that of J. Emes at the bottom of the title page. The second edition is in quarto: the division into two books has been abandoned: the text and plates are the same, and the text of the title-page (though in different type) is like that of the second volume of the oblong folio edition and bears date 1796. But on the engraved dedication to the Queen, the words "Italian Scenery" have been inserted at the top, the date has been altered from January 18th, 1792, to January 18th, 1817, and the names of the publishers, J. Smith, W. Byrne, and J. Edwards, have been added to the foot. This was no doubt done in order to give balance to the page.

It is an interesting commentary on the effects of the French Revolution that the issue of the second edition was obviously delayed until it became once more possible for English travellers to visit the Continent. Indeed, the Rome that Turner saw had but recently returned to Papal government after a taste of French efficiency: and English travellers of the period seem to have been divided between their detestation of Napoleon and their hatred of Papal rule—and in Rome itself,

PLATE 4

ROME FROM MONTE MARIO

(*CLXXXIX*, 33: *National Gallery*, *No.* 592)

The point of view is a little lower down the southern slopes of Monte Mario. We see the Via di Porta Angelica in the centre of the picture, running to the gate of that name in the wall of Pius IV, close under the Belvedere of the Vatican: this has from this point almost the appearance of a castle, as it had when first erected. To the right, beyond the dome of S. Peter's, is the wall of Leo IV surrounding the Vatican gardens. To the left, Castel S. Angelo, with the beginning of the corridor leading to the Vatican, is the only prominent object in the view of the city.

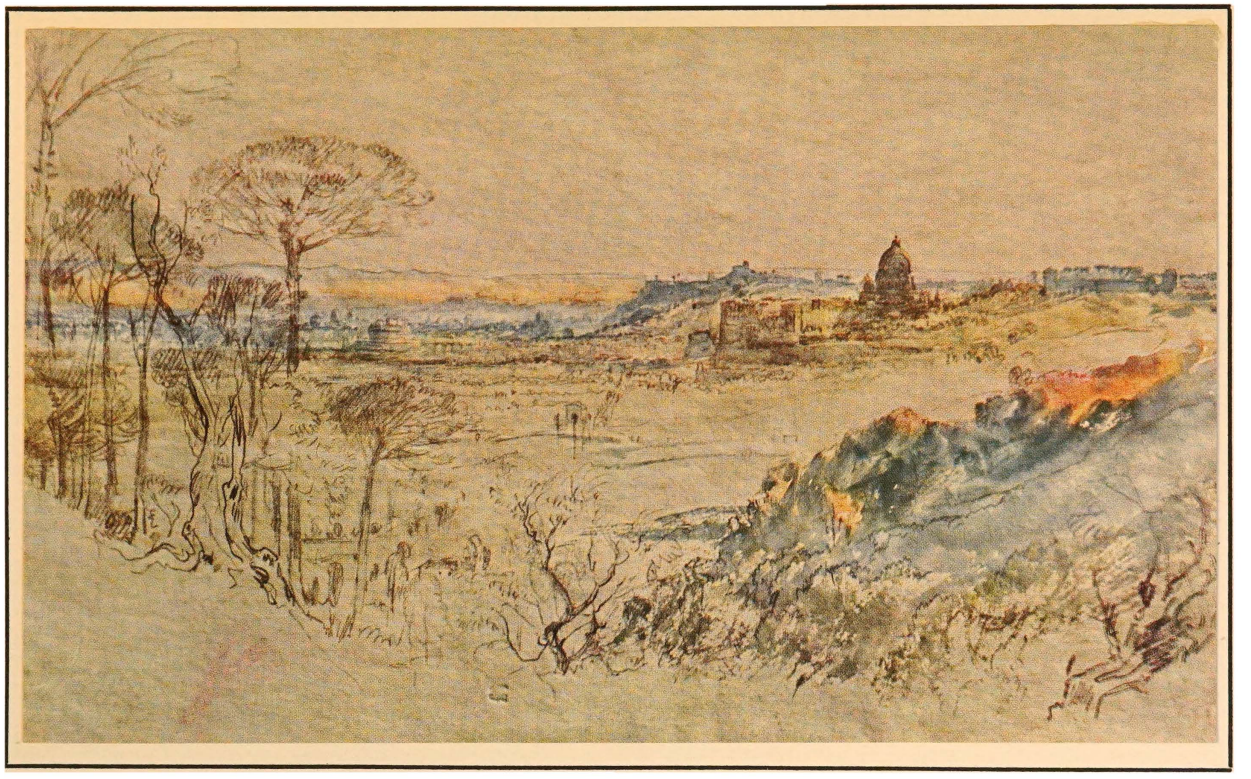
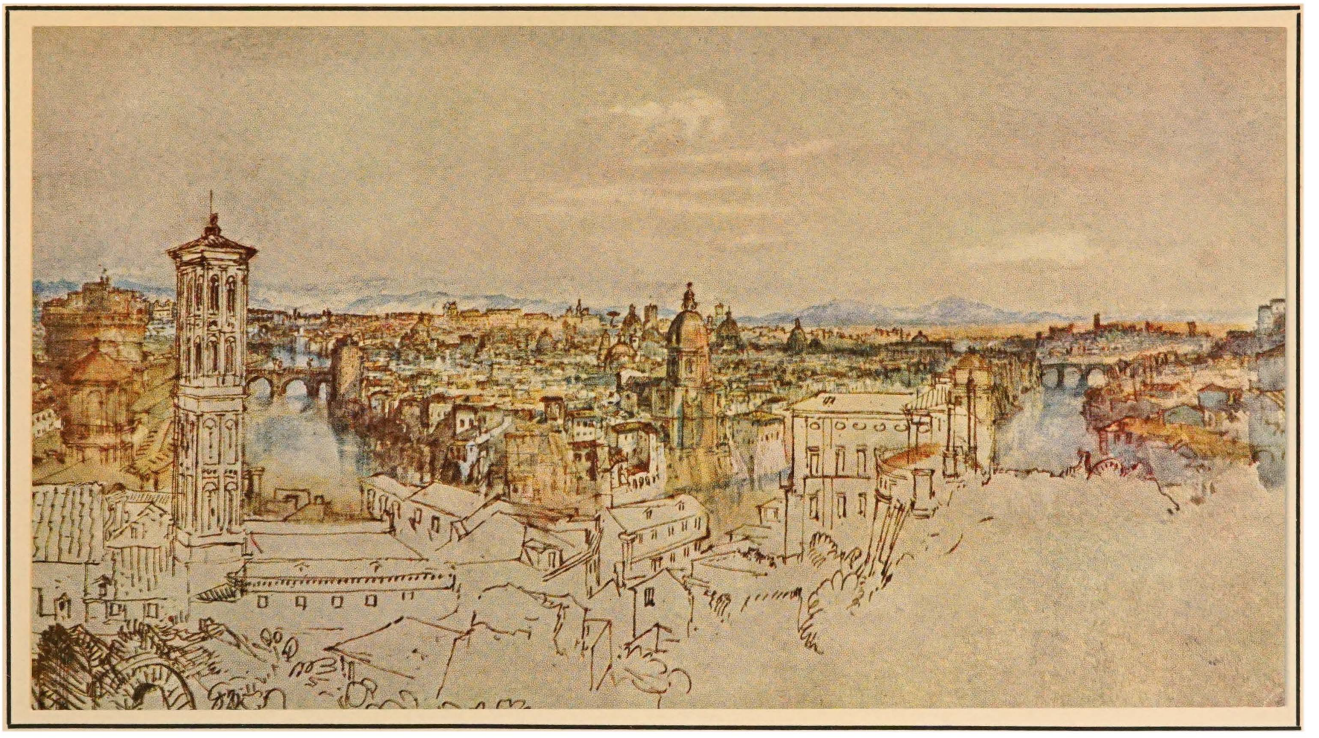


PLATE 5

ROME FROM THE GARDENS OF THE VILLA LANTE

(*CLXXXIX*, 34: *National Gallery*, No. 593)

The description is not exact, the Villa Lante being a good deal higher up and just out of the picture on the right. The real point of view is the Villa Barberini above the church of S. Spirito in Sassia, the tower of which is in the left foreground. It is the same point from which Plates 8 *and* 9 *are taken (the latter in a reverse direction), and a somewhat unusual one too. This is clear from the fact that we are looking straight at the point of the bend of the Tiber, just above S. Giovanni del' Fiorentini, which is seen on the bank. We thus see the Ponte S. Angelo and Ponte Sisto at the same moment. The dome of the hospital of S. Spirito seen in front of Castel S. Angelo. For the rest the representation of the domes and towers of the city is remarkable for its beauty and clearness.*



where the character of the Government and the administration had certainly been better under the French, the latter feeling seems to prevail over the former; though they do full justice to the dignity and constancy shown by Pope Pius VII under Napoleon's oppressive severity, by means of which he obtained the sympathy of most of his contemporaries. Personally, indeed, the Pope was an exception to the general rule—he is called even by R. M. Johnston ("The Roman Theocracy and the Republic," 26), "a ruler of great qualities, fit to rank in the small and select company of the great Popes. He retrieved the damaged moral position of the Catholic Church, and, carried on the crest of the wave of reaction that swept Europe, re-established the temporal power on an apparently safe and durable basis."

If we read a travel book of a few years before—the recently exhumed "Journal of John Mayne during a Tour on the Continent upon its re-opening after the Fall of Napoleon, 1814, edited by his grandson John Mayne Colles" (London, 1909), we find a passage (p. 164) that may illustrate what has gone before. "Our first visit this morning was to Torlonia's bank (Giovanni Raimondo Torlonia—1754-1829—was a banker of humble birth). His stepson, Mr. Chiaveri, speaks English reasonably well. He was extremely polite, offered us any money we might want before the arrival of our letters, and, on our expressing our thanks, said that it was his business to be useful, and that Englishmen deserved it. (Later on—pp. 172, 173, 183, 193 sq.—his ability is commented on, although it is also noted that 'this gentleman, a young man, the son of a duke, just come from waiting upon the Princess of Wales, had a beard of at least two days' growth, though in other respects he was clean and well dressed.') This Torlonia is a great personage here; he made a prodigious fortune by risking everything with the French, and having lately purchased large estates with a dukedom attached, he is now the Duke of Bracciano. (His boundless hospitality and attention to British visitors are also praised by Lady Morgan—'Italy,' II, 452). At Mr. Vasi's we purchased his guide-book, which is considered the best of its kind." It bears the title of *Itinerario Istruttivo di Roma antica e moderna e sue Vicinanze,* and is also recom-

mended by Coxe (" Picture of Italy," ed. II, p. 192). Mariano Vasi, its author and publisher, was the son of Giuseppe Vasi, the Sicilian engraver, a contemporary of Piranesi to whom however he is far inferior.

Mayne notes more than once the kindness and consideration with which the English were treated, though it was not always very well repaid. He relates how at Prince Massimo's (p. 219) the English began to pour in about ten o'clock; " the ladies all gathered themselves into a group in the middle of the room, with their knees close together, and the gentlemen stood, leaning on the backs of their chairs. This they call mixing in foreign society." And again, " at Torlonia's there was quite a crowd of English. About eleven o'clock they all, with one accord, took leave at the same moment. Mr. Chiaveri afterwards thanked me and another gentleman for not deserting with the rest of our countrymen, and said that he really did think, for a moment, that the house was in flames when they all fled with such precipitation " (p. 245).

Mayne (p. 279) also visited Camuccini's pictures. " He seems," he remarks, " by universal suffrage, to be ranked as the first historical painter now in Italy. We saw a great many paintings—both original works and copies of Raffaelle's made for his own improvement." " Camuccini was," says Noack,[13] " the most important representative of academic classicism and the most successful of the followers of Mengs in Rome . . . for nearly half a century (1802-1842) he was the undisputed dictator in Roman painting "—which to our modern taste is but faint praise. One of his best known works is the *Judgment of Paris* in the fourth room of the upper floor of the Villa Borghese. Turner's opinion of him is not recorded, but one may doubt if it would have been favourable.

Two addresses noted by Turner (CLXXX, p. 81a), are " Capt. Graham, 12, Piazza Mignanelli," and " Thomas L. Donaldson, 46, Via Gregoriana, Trinità de Monti." The former may be identified with the N. G. Graham, Esq., to whom the proprietors of Coxe's " Pictures of Italy " in the Preface to the second edition of 1818, record their obligations for information received from observations made in the course of his tour in

[13] In Thieme-Becker. *Allgemeines Lexikon*, V, 482.

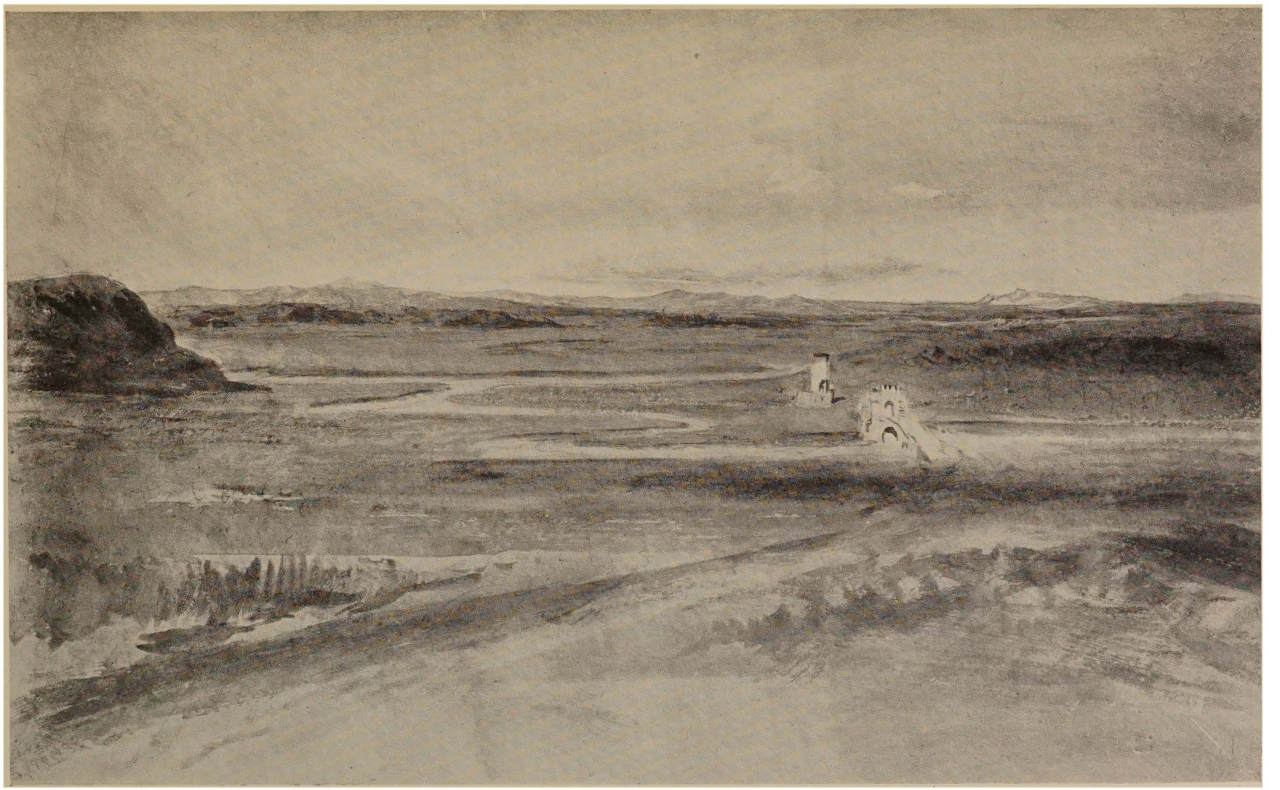


PLATE 6. ROMAN CAMPAGNA: MORNING—WATER-COLOUR
(*CLXXXVII*, 34: *National Gallery, No.* 330)

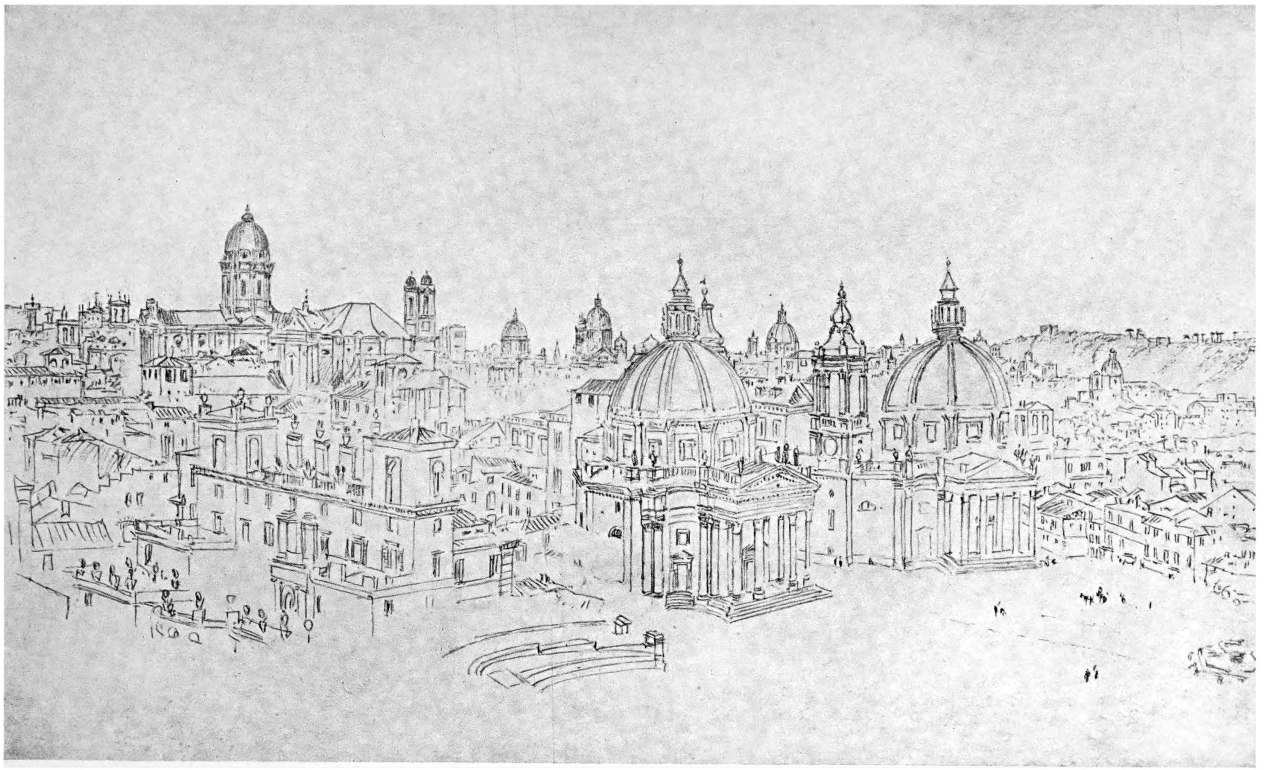


PLATE 7. PIAZZA DEL POPOLO, WITH THE CHURCHES OF SANTA MARIA IN MONTE SANTO AND SANTE MARIA DE' MIRACOLI—PENCIL (*CLXXXIX*, 52; *Tate Gallery*)

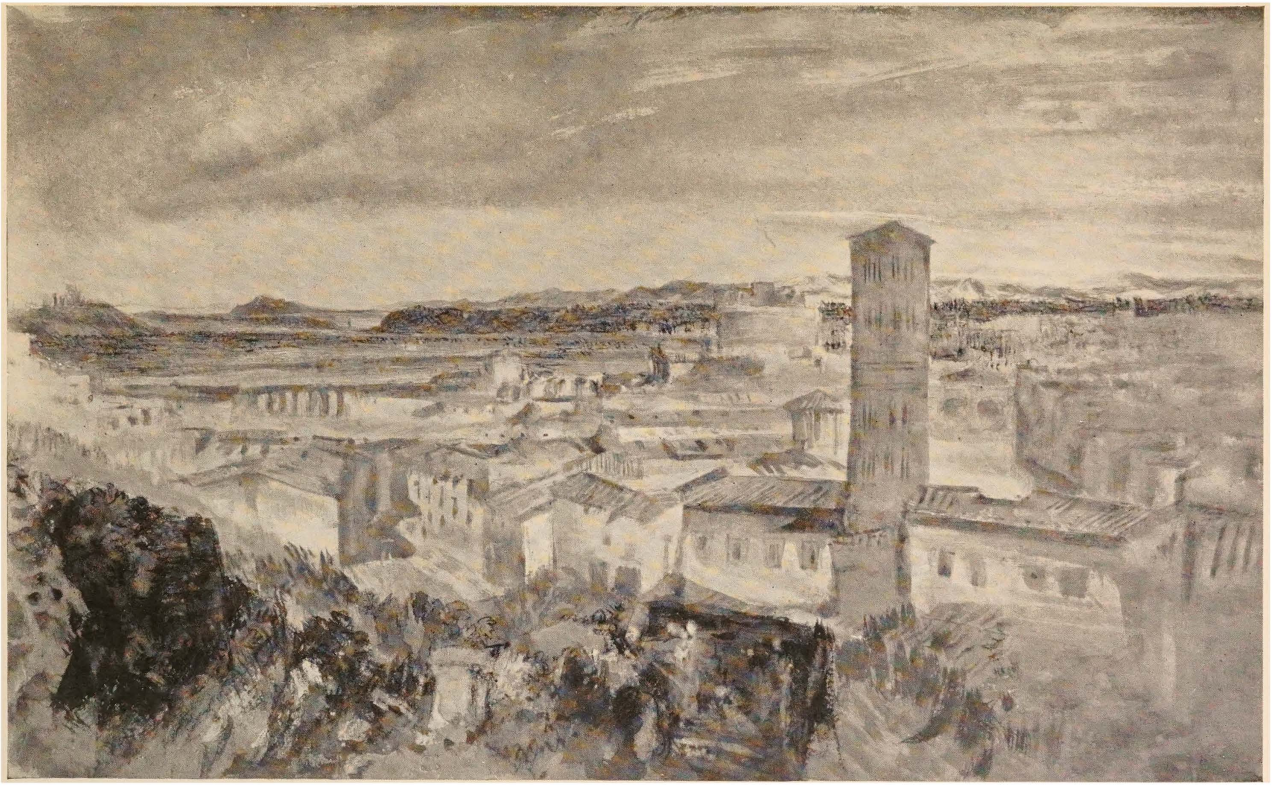


PLATE 8. THE TIBER AND CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO—WATER-COLOUR
(*CLXXXIX*, 3 : *National Gallery, No.* 255)

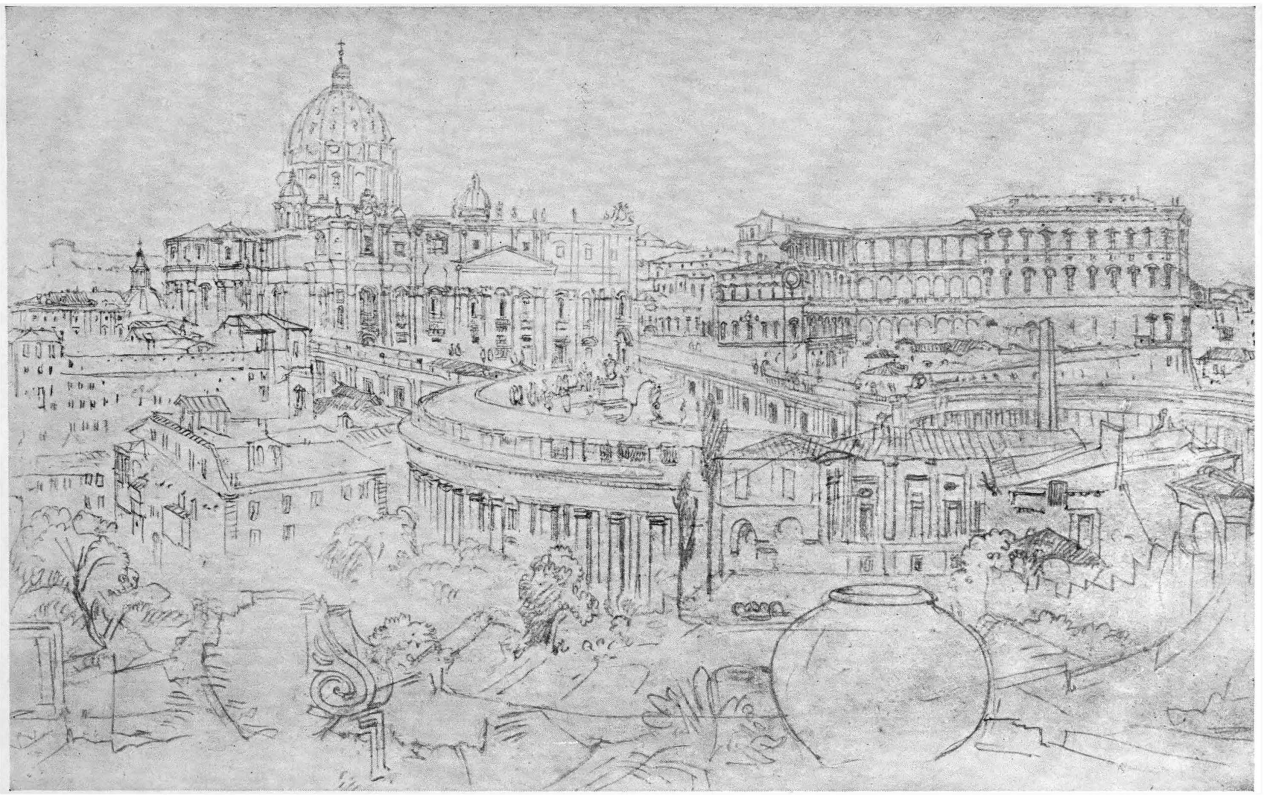


PLATE 9. ST. PETER'S AND THE VATICAN—PENCIL
(*CLXXXIX, 7; National Gallery, No.* 259)

Italy during the year 1817: or else with George Farquhar Graham, who, soon after 1816, visited France and Italy in pursuit of musical knowledge (D.N.B., viii, 315, the 21 vol. edition). Thomas Donaldson, then a young man of twenty-four, who had received the Royal Academy silver medal in architecture in 1817, was measuring and drawing the principal buildings in Italy, and subsequently proceeded to Greece. He was elected a member of the Academy of St. Luke in 1822. After his return to England he practised as an architect, and erected various buildings, including Hope House in Piccadilly, now the Junior Athenæum Club. He was also the author of a large work on "Pompeii" and of "Architectura Numismatica, or Architectural Medals of Classical Antiquity." He died in 1885, at the age of ninety. Otherwise we have no trace of Turner's having gone into society, with or without Lawrence's help, nor is it likely from what we know of him. He is more likely to have spent his evenings in colouring up some of his drawings.

Dates are rare in the records of his stay. The "Albano, Nemi, Rome" Sketchbook (CLXXXII) is dated November 30, 1819, on one of the covers, and it is clear from dates on some of the leaves of this sketchbook that Turner was in the neighbourhood of Castel Gandolfo and the Lake of Albano from November 9 to 11 at least (pp. 17, 18, 26). He must have gone on straight to Naples, as the "Castel Gandolfo to Naples" Sketchbook (CLXXXIV) shows, for John Soane, Junior's letter of the 15th November from there refers to him as "in the neighbourhood"; and he certainly returned to Rome by the same route (Terracina and Gaeta), which was indeed by far the most usual. He seems, despite Hakewill's advice, to have made a separate excursion to Tivoli, where, like Hakewill, he doubtless stayed at the Locanda della Sibilla—still in existence. In the "St. Peter's" Sketchbook (CLXXXVIII) we find the date "December 2, 1819, Roma," on the inside of one of the covers.

On the 20th December Soane writes (again from Naples) that he was already on his way home. We have no details of the first part of his journey; but a drawing at Farnley Hall

gives, as Mr. C. F. Bell notes,[14] "a precise record of the date (January 15, 1820), of his crossing Mont Cenis on his way home." We have another date (24th January) written under a sketch probably made at Lanslebourg, on the north side of the pass, in the "Return from Italy" Sketchbook (CXCII, p. 17), which must refer to the year 1820—unless the whole book were transferred to 1829, which is improbable. He did not linger long in France; for on the 12th February, 1820, we find him dining at Grosvenor Place, London, with his friends the Fawkeses.[15]

Much light is thrown on Turner's method of work by an interesting letter from John Soane, Junior, to his father, written from Naples on November 15, 1819, to which my attention was called by the late Mr. Walter Spiers, then Curator of the Soane Museum: "Turner is in the neighbourhood of Naples making rough pencil sketches to the astonishment of the Fashionables, who wonder of what use these rough draughts (*sic*) can be—simple souls. At Rome a sucking blade of the brush made request of going out with pig Turner to colour—he grunted for answer that it would take up too much time to colour in the open air: he would make 15 or 16 pencil sketches to one coloured, and then grunted his way home. To the question how many scudi would be required for ransome money in case a pig was sto(p)ped on his way to this Paradise, 500 scudi being named, he grunted forth a grunt of 'a large sum.' In the journey having occasion for a Nap (napoleon) he produced one which had been concealed in a purse that he had within an inner pocket—a pig could not have been ushered into the world with more consequence."

Turner's comment on S. Peter's is a just one.[16] "The part by Bernini good in the arrangement of the columns; but, being very large, they convey the idea of greatness away from the façade of the building, which being but one order, tho' the . . . has in the façia of the panel a capital to carry an entablature without support, and the Dome . . . while in the upper corner,

[14] "The Genius of Turner," E. vii; *Exhibited Drawings*, p. 170, No. 56.

[15] Finberg, "Turner's Sketches and Drawings," 91.

[16] Thornbury "Life" (1877), p. 479. Finberg, 531 (CLXXX, 2A). The former by the way, is quite wrong in referring the entries at the beginning to Rome. The memoranda obviously relate to Turin.

the most favourable view, the columns are cut by it, and the cupola has no base; so that the dome, when approaching the steps, becomes secondary to the horizontal parts." His remarks on the pictures he saw are also interesting (*cf.* Finberg Inv., pp. 531, 574), *e.g.*, on the Aurora of Guido, and on the Claudes which he saw in the Palazzo Barberini and in the Palazzo Sciarra. We do sometimes find his mental notes as to colour supplemented by actual memoranda; but it is rare to find so long and interesting a one as that which we may read on the inside of the covers of the "Ancona to Rome" Sketchbook (CLXXVII: Finberg, p. 520), "Loreto to Recanata. Colour of the hills Wilson Claude, the olives the light . . . when the sun shone green, the ground reddish green grey and apt to Purple, the sea quite blue, under the Sun a warm vapour, from the Sun Blue relieving (?) the shadow of the Olive trees dark, while the foliage light or the whole when in shadow a quiet grey. Beautiful dark green yet warm, the middle Trees, yet Bluish in parts, the distance; the aqueduct reddish, the foreground light grey in shadow."

No doubt his method of travelling, in which the economical diligence was preferred to the more leisurely private carriage, did not always allow of such delays as he would have wished—as we find on his later tour to have been the case. "An amusing picture of him at this time (1829-30) is given in a letter from one who met him accidentally in his travels and did not know him. He describes Turner as 'a good-tempered, funny little elderly gentleman, continuously sketching at the window, and angry at the conductor for not waiting while he took a sketch of a sunrise at Macerata.' 'D—— the fellow!' he said, 'he has no feeling.' He speaks only a few words of Italian, about as much of French, which languages he jumbles together most amusingly."[17] That he was there on his first tour also is clear enough (CLXXI, 7; CLXXVII, 9a, 16a, 19a—22).

Turner, on his second visit to Italy in 1828 travelled from Paris by Orleans and Lyons to Marseilles (CCXXIX, CCXXX), thence to Genoa (CCXXXI, CCXXXII). From

[17] *D. N. B.*, XIX, 1273. The incident must belong to his journey from Rome to Bologna on January 3-6, 1829, and probably occurred on the morning of the 5th (Monday).

Genoa he went by the coast to Leghorn and thence to Florence (CCXXXIII); thence to Orvieto, Bolsena and Montefiascone (CCXXXIV), and to Viterbo, Ronciglione and Rome (CCXXXVI). On his return to Rome in 1828 he stayed at 12, Piazza Mignanelli, and from there wrote a letter to George Jones, R.A., on October 13, and another to Chantrey, the sculptor, on November 6, both published by Thornbury ("Life," pp. 100—102). The first gives us but little news of his stay there, except that he asks Jones: "If you should be passing Queen Anne Street, just say I am well and in Rome, for I fear young Hakewell (*sic*) has written to his father of my being unwell." The second has a more interesting passage—"even now very little information have I to give you in matters of Art, for I have confined myself to the painting department at Corso; and having finished *one,* am about the second, and getting on with Lord E's, which I began the very first touch at Rome; but as the folk here talked that I would show them *not,* I finished a small three feet four to stop their gabbling: so now to business."

C(osmo) M(onkhouse) conjectures that the first may be the *Jessica* (D.N.B. XIX, 1273), and his opinion is supported by Bell ("Exhibited Works of Turner," p. 113, No. 167), while the small picture is the *Orvieto* exhibited in 1830 (National Gallery, 511: Bell, op. cit., p. 112, No. 165).

The National Gallery Catalogue states that the *Vision of Medea* and the *Regulus* (National Gallery, 513, 519), Bell, op. cit., p. 115, No. 172, p. 133, No. 207), were painted in Rome in 1829; but as we shall see, Turner had already left Rome on January 3rd, 1829. What Sir Charles Eastlake actually says (as quoted from Thornbury, I, 221), is: "When Turner was in Rome in 1828-29, he resided in the same house with me (12, Piazza Mignanelli. . .). He painted there the View of Orvieto, the Regulus and the Medea. These pictures were exhibited in Rome in some rooms which Turner subsequently occupied at the Quattro Fontane. The foreign artists who went to see them could make nothing of them. . . ." Eastlake was in Rome from 1816-1830 almost continuously.

Turner then proceeds to tell Chantrey of the sculptors then at work in Rome. "Gott's Studio is full. Wyatt and Rennie,

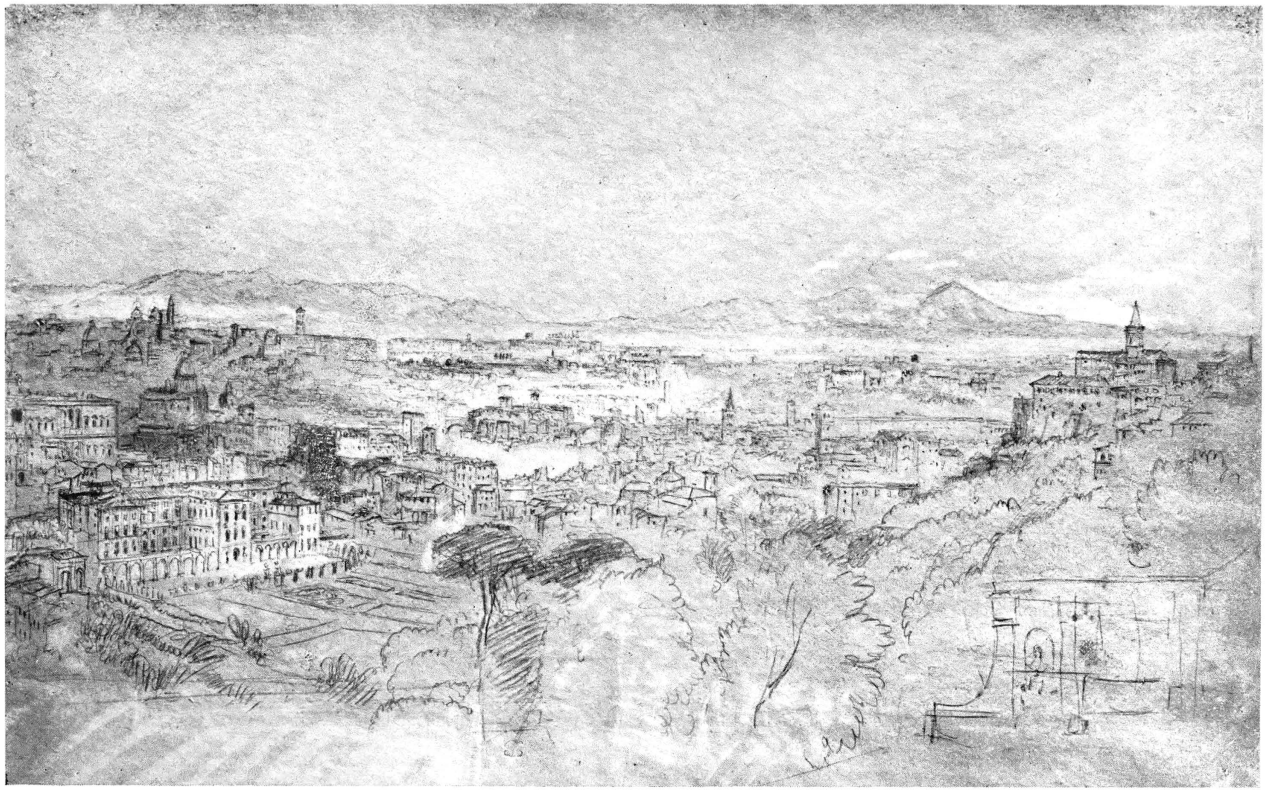


PLATE 10. GENERAL VIEW OF ROME—PENCIL
(CLXXXIX, 12: National Gallery, No. 264)

Ewing, Buxton, all employed. Gibson has two groups in hand, *Venus and Cupid* and the *Rape of Hylas,* etc."

An interesting passage follows in Thornbury: "Mr. Rippingille, who instituted enquiries in Rome as to the appreciation of Turner, writes." . . . "In a subsequent portion of his life Turner was in Rome, and there exhibited pictures which (no disgrace, I must say), won him no credit. At the time he was in the Eternal City, an English tradesman was living there who made a great to do, and sold English mustard; and when his namesake came and exposed his wares, the Romans, who are a peculiar class of jokers, proclaimed that one sold mustard and the other painted it. Some intelligent Romans, with whom I talked, wondered that the English could be so devoid of taste as to admire and tolerate such extravagant productions."

If Camuccini's frigid classical works were the rage, this judgment is by no means surprising. And Turner himself returned the compliment: "I never heard him speak highly of modern pictures," said Mr. Trimmer (Thornbury, p. 126), "and he told me once that he considered the art at Rome at the lowest ebb." Turner also wrote a letter hence to Sir Thomas Lawrence, in December, whom he thanked for giving his vote to Charles Turner at the Academy election (D.N.B., XIX, 1273).

He did practically no sketching in Rome on this occasion, unless we may attribute to this visit a number of drawings which are not in the National Gallery. The studies for the vignette illustrations to Rogers' "Italy" do not necessarily fall into this category. Highly praised as they are by Thornbury (p. 112) and Ruskin, it is their artistic rather than their topographical merits which are in question; and the subjects are indeed common ones enough. There are only a few that have to do with Rome. They are as follows—CCLXXX: 158 (*Rome*—Rogers' "Italy," p. 144); 160 (*St. Peter's and Castel S. Angelo,* p. 165); 161 (*Campagna,* p. 162); 166 (*Tivoli,* p. 173); and perhaps 144 (*Italian Composition,* p. 175).[18] In the National collection we find only one tiny notebook (CCXXXVII) with a few pencil sketches and memoranda

[18] This last identification is doubtful.

relative to Rome—and a great many other places as well.

With regard to Turner's return to England, we have some important information in the entries in ink on the inside of one of the covers of the "Rome, Turin and Milan" sketchbook (CCXXXV). Here we read: "Left Rome Saturday 8 E(vening) Jan(uar)y 3 (the year is omitted, but it must be 1829).[19]. Bologna Tuesday (6th). Left—Friday (9th) 12 o'clock. Milan Wednesday (14th) ditto. Snow all the way." There follow some entries in pencil:

"Wed—8—for Turin
Monday
Tuesday—Suza
Wed—
Saturday—Lyons."

If we work these last entries out as indications of what actually happened we should find that Turner, even if he started at 8 p.m. for Turin on the day of his arrival at Milan, could not have reached Lyons before Saturday the 24th. But, as a fact, we must consider them to be merely a forecast, which was more than realised. Turner must have got on rather faster than he expected, and reached the Mont Tarare, which lies north of the town of Tarare, 28 miles W.N.W. of Lyons, by Thursday the 22nd. From an incident which occurred on the journey over this lofty summit, over 3,000 feet above sea level, Turner made a water-colour bearing the following legend: "Messieurs les voyageurs on their return from Italy (par la diligence) in a snowdrift upon Mount Tarrar (*sic*) 22nd of January, 1829." (Bell "Exhibited Works," p. 53, No. 80). This was in the possession of Messrs. Agnew in 1899.[20] As to the rest of the journey, we have no information.

A last visit to Rome in 1839 is believed to have produced the *Arch of Constantine* (Tate Gallery, 2066) and *Tivoli* (Tate Gallery, 2067)—see the catalogue—though there is no evidence in the sketchbooks (CCCX sqq.) that he ever got beyond Verona, Padova, and Venice; cf. Finberg "Inventory," p.

[19] He must have gone by Macerata: see the letter quoted on page 15: so that he doubtless followed the route by which he had come to Rome in 1819, but in the reverse direction.

[20] The journey over the mountain is described by Brockedon, "Road Book to Italy," 53.

PLATE II
NYMPHÆUM OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS

(*CLXXXIX*, 35: *National Gallery, No.* 594)

In the left foreground is the Nymphæum, rightly so named, though often called (without any real reason) the Temple of Minerva Medica. To whom it belonged is another question—perhaps to the Licinii, a family of which the emperor Gallienus was a member. On the right is a long line of arches, belonging to the internal gallery of the Aurelian wall, but misinterpreted as an aqueduct: and beyond is the Porta S. Lorenzo. The whole of this once desolate scene is now a mass of railway lines and modern streets.

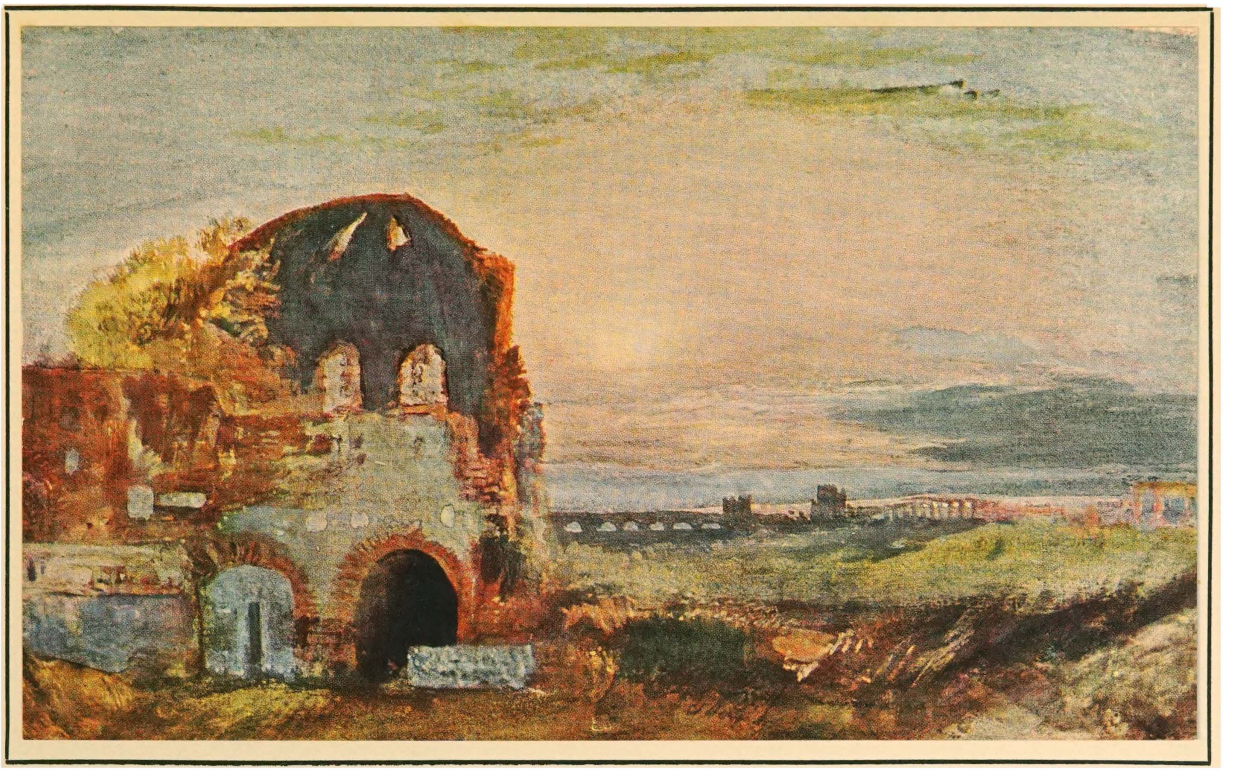


PLATE 12

THE CLAUDIAN AQUEDUCT

(*CLXXXIX*, 36: *National Gallery*, No. 595)

This view is the reverse of the last, being taken from outside the Aurelian wall from a point not very far from the church of S. Lorenzo. The gate of that name is on the extreme right, and the wall extends all along the middle distance; behind it we see the Nymphæum, and to the left of it the line of arches which have given their name to the picture. They are, however, but a misinterpretation of the gallery in the upper part of the Aurelian wall, between the towers. Here again the foreground is now a densely populated district.

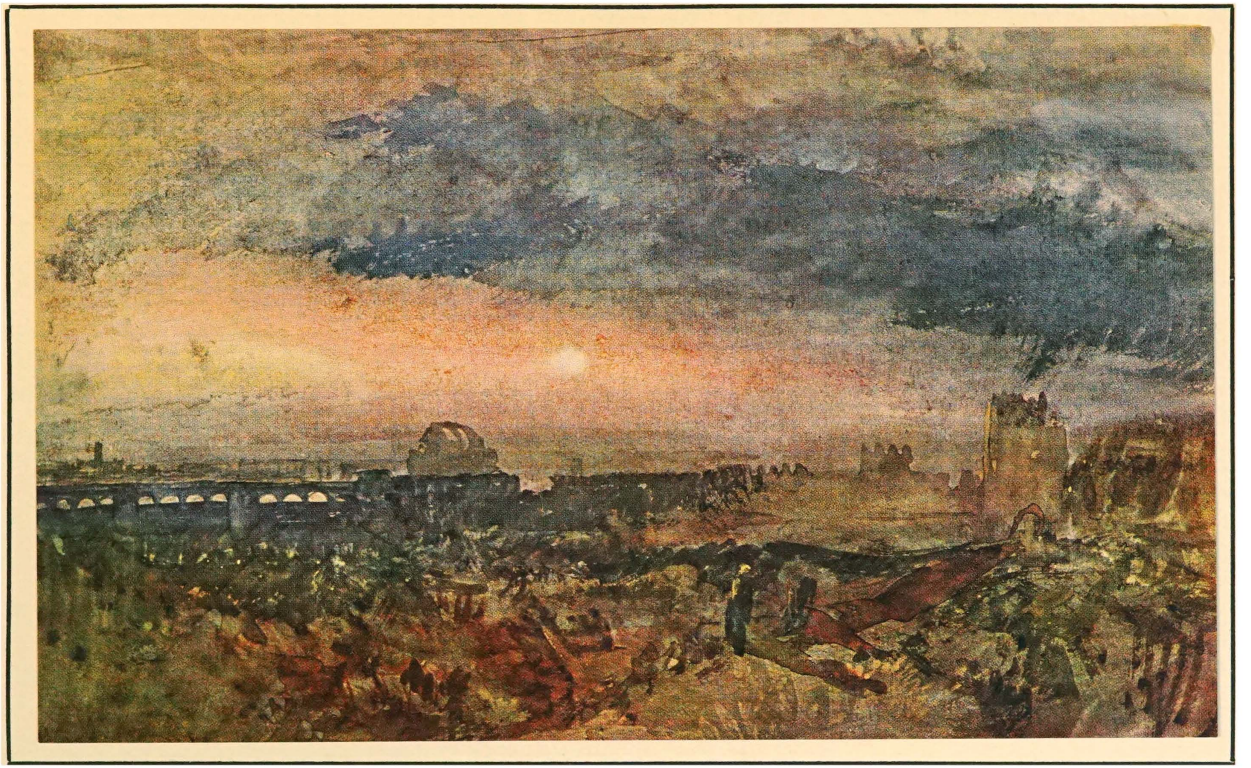


PLATE 13

CAMPAGNA: SNOWY APENNINES IN DISTANCE

(*CLXXXVII*, 42: *National Gallery*, No. 338)

The view is taken from a point outside Porta S. Lorenzo. The "snowy Apennines" in the centre are the triple peaks of the Monte Velino above Avezzano and the Fucine Lake, some sixty miles away. To the left is Monte Gennaro, and to the extreme left the Monte Terminillo above Rieti, rising, like Monte Velino, to some 8,000 *feet above the sea.*

To the right of the gap below the Monte Velino (through which the Anio forces its way into the plain, past Tivoli, which is seen below) are some of the mountains above Subiaco; and the rocky cock's comb of Guadagnolo closes the view on the right. Between us and the hills is the desolate Campagna, which has undergone such a change in recent years as to be almost unrecognisable, so much has cultivation spread over it.

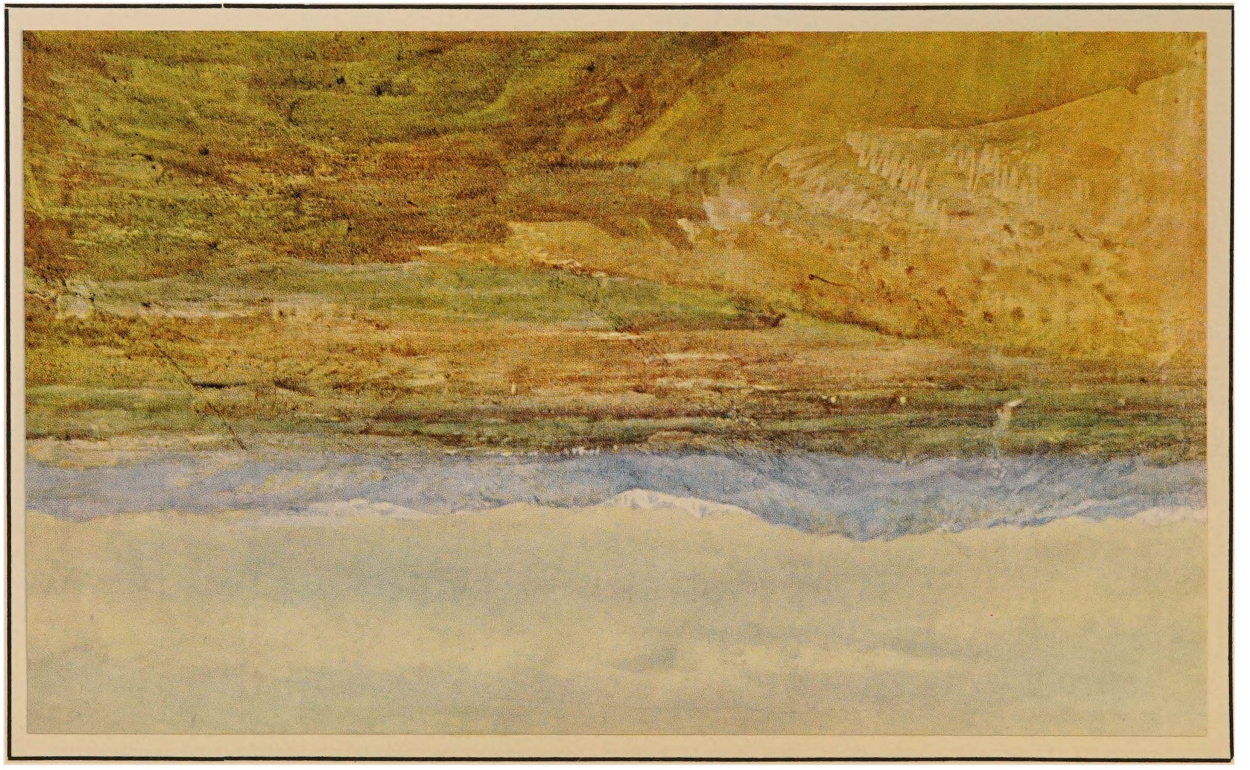


PLATE 14. ROME: THE CAPITOL—PENCIL
(*CLXXXIX*, 25: *National Gallery*, *No.* 299)

PLATE 15. FOREGROUND IN ROME—WATER-COLOUR
(*CLXXXIX*, 30 : *National Gallery, No.* 332)

PLATE 16. THE COLOSSEUM AND BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE—PENCIL AND WATER-COLOUR
(*CLXXXIX*, 20 : *National Gallery, No.* 272)

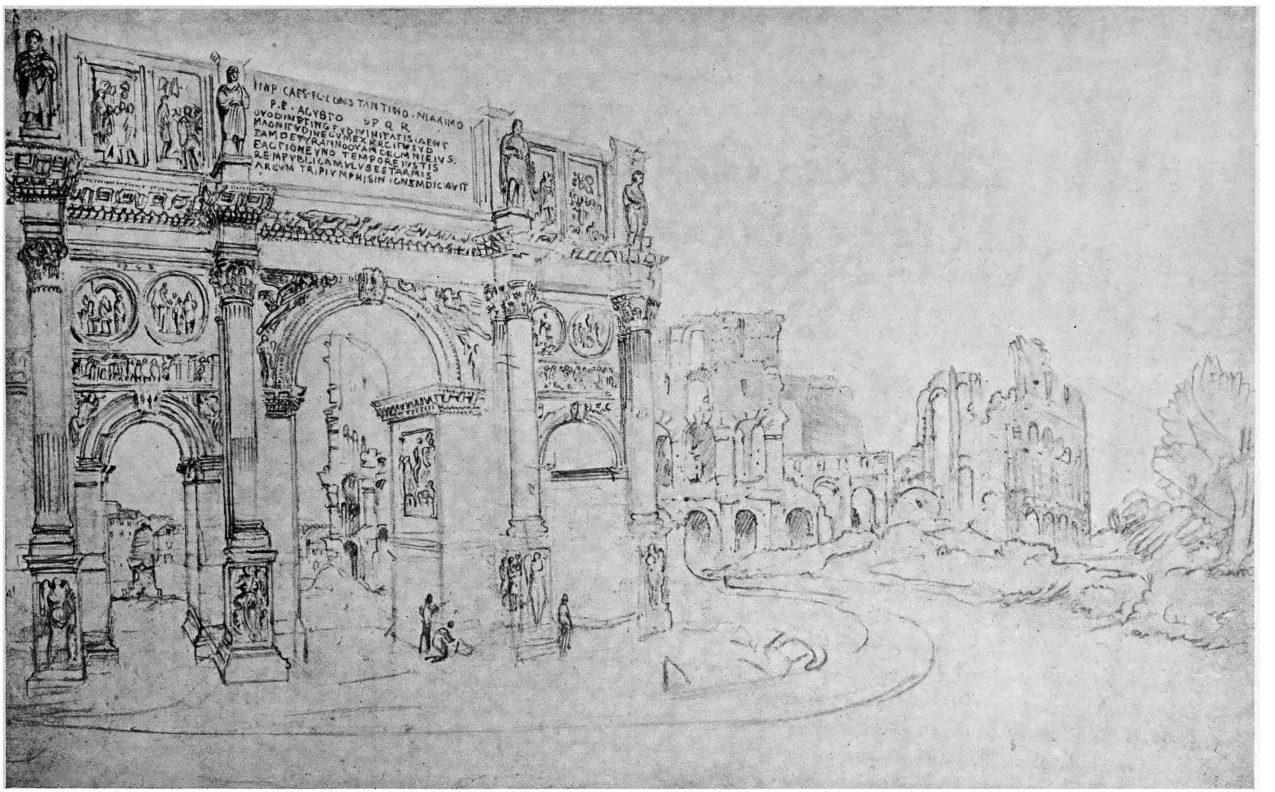


PLATE 17. THE COLOSSEUM AND ARCH OF CONSTANTINE—PENCIL
(*CLXXXIX*, 29 : *National Gallery, No.* 331)

1,029, note "Mr. C. Mallord W. Turner has in his possession a letter from a gentleman signing himself 'E. H.,' who had accompanied Turner down the Rhine on his way to Venice. The letter is written from Rome, and dated '24th August, 1840,' and speaks of meeting Turner on the way back. 'E. H.' had parted company with Turner at Bregenz, on the Boden See, 'E. H.' and his wife going through the Via Mala to the Splugen, Turner bound for Venice, via Innsbruck and Landeck. Perhaps this sketchbook (CCCXX) may belong to this very journey."

What was the effect of his first visit to Rome and Southern Italy upon his art as a whole? C(osmo) M(onkhouse) in the D.N.B. (XIX, 1272, 1273), refers to the classical pictures as "glorious" and "splendid" dreams of Italy; but others have not shared his opinion: and Finberg's ("Turner's Sketches and Drawings," 93) admiration for the drawings is tempered by the consideration that the best that could be made of these wonderful sketches was two or three charming water-colours for Mr. Fawkes, a weak and empty *Forum Romanum* for Mr. Soane's Museum, and a large *Bay of Baiae* as to which he quotes Ruskin's opinion, which we shall give immediately. . . . "If the doctrine of Naturalism," he goes on to say, "possessed the universal validity it is assumed to possess, the pictures based upon the truest and most elaborate drawings Turner ever made from nature—and that, too, of the most beautiful and the most historically interesting scenery in the world—should have been the best he had so far produced. They are admittedly among the worst"; and again ("Water-colours of J. M. W. Turner," 39): "We must remember that, in spite of all their attractiveness, Turner found these drawings worse than useless for his general artistic purposes, and that only bad and foolish pictures came from them; and the more carefully we study the matter the more clearly do we see that nothing but bad and foolish pictures could come from work in which the spirit of curiosity and of cold and accurate observation is predominant."

Even Ruskin ("Modern Painters," i, 128, ed. 1888), is constrained to admit the same: "The effect of Italy upon his mind is very puzzling. On the one hand it gave him the solemnity and power which are manifested in the historical compositions

of the Liber Studiorum—on the other, he never seems to have entered thoroughly into the spirit of Italy, and the materials he obtained there were afterwards but awkwardly introduced into his larger compositions. Of these there are very few at all worthy of him . . . of the larger compositions which have much of Italy in them, the greater part are overwhelmed with quantity, and deficient in emotion. . . . The Caligula's Bridge, Temple of Jupiter, Departure of Regulus, Ancient Italy, Cicero's Villa, and such others, come from whose hand they may, I class under the general head of 'nonsense pictures.' There never can be any wholesome feeling developed in these preposterous accumulations, and where the artist's feeling fails, his art follows; so that the worst possible examples of Turner's colour are found in pictures of this class. . . . Neither in his actual views of Italy has Turner ever caught her true spirit, except in the little vignettes to Rogers's Poems. . . . None of his large pictures at all equal them; the Bay of Baiae is encumbered with material, it contains ten times as much as is necessary to a good picture, and yet is so crude in colour as to look unfinished. The Palestrina is full of raw white, and has a look of Hampton Court about its long avenue; the Modern Italy is purely English in its near foliage; it is composed from Tivoli material, enriched and arranged most dexterously, but it has the look of a rich arrangement, and not the virtue of the real thing. The early Tivoli, a large drawing taken from below the falls, was as little true, and still less fortunate, the trees there being altogether affected and artificial. . . . The chief reason of these failures I imagine to be the effort of the artist to put joyousness and brilliancy of effect upon scenes eminently pensive, to substitute radiance for serenity of light, and to force the freedom and breadth of line which he learnt to love on English downs and Highland moors, out of a country dotted by campaniles and square convents, bristled with cypresses, partitioned by walls, and gone up and down by steps."

IV

Turner's Visions of Rome

Let us turn now to the more detailed consideration of the sketches and drawings which we have selected for illustrations from his vast store. There are only twenty-eight of them; but they give an adequate idea of the beauty of the rest. The selection has, it need hardly be said, not been easy, especially among the pencil drawings, which so greatly outnumber the water-colours.

Among those we have selected are views of all parts of Rome: and, as the order of the drawings in the sketch-books is in a good many cases purely fortuitous (for the sketch-books were broken up by Mr. Ruskin without any note of the order of the leaves having been taken) it may be as well to adopt a topographical arrangement, which will have the advantage of allowing us to consider drawings of the same subject together. The greater part even of Turner's water-colours of Rome were originally made in pencil (more rarely in pen) and coloured afterwards; only our Plates, Nos. 2, 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 23, 24, are pure water-colour. The greater part of them occur in CLXXXIX (from which the bulk of our reproductions are taken), one of the large sketchbooks in which the leaves (14½ by 9 inches) were all prepared on one side with a wash of grey. From CLXXXVII, which is even larger (16 by 10 1/16 inches) but in part devoted to Naples and its environs, we have chosen five, three water-colours and two monochromes. CLXXXIII, the "Tivoli" Sketchbook, is also on the large side (10 by 7 15/16 inches), while CXC, from which an isolated water-colour (almost the only one in the book) has been taken, measures 5 3/16 by 10 1/8 inches. The others he used are a good deal smaller.

We begin, then, with a view looking out to the north-east from the Villa Madama (Plate 1), a country house, begun by Raphael for Pope Clement VII while yet a Cardinal, which later was owned by Margaret of Parma, daughter of Charles V, from whom it takes its name. Turner gives us a masterly rendering of the snow-tipped Apennines in the distance, with the expanse of the Campagna in the foreground. Below us is

the noble sweep of the Tiber, with the picturesque Ponte Molle on the left, and the flat peninsula, then an area of gardens and vineyards traversed only by the straight Via Flaminia with a few houses along it, but now in large measure a part of the great and ever-growing city. In the middle distance a few skilful touches suggest the innumerable undulations and low hills of this part of the Campagna, then a desolate waste, but in recent years dotted with large and not very picturesque farmhouses.

The next view, entitled *Gardens outside Rome* (Plate 2), is taken from the southern spur of Monte Mario, crowned by the Villa Mellini, to the garden of which the balustrade must belong. This is indicated by the presence of the dome of S. Peter's and of the northern part of the city, while the elevation shows that we are on or near the summit of the hill. The point of view was a favourite one with artists. A drawing by Jacob Moore in the British Museum is reproduced in "Forty Drawings from Roman Scenes by British artists" (London, 1911), Pl. XI.

Two more views (Plates 3 and 4) are taken from two points on the same spur, each a little further down the hill than the last. We are still looking towards S. Peter's and S. Pietro in Montorio, on the edge of the Janiculum. In Plate 4 the Via di Porta Angelica is clearly seen running across the Prati di Castello (the meadows—and gardens—dominated by Castel S. Angelo), only of recent years covered with houses, and the walls of Leo IV surrounding the Vatican gardens are clearly seen, while in the other view they are hidden by trees. For the rest, there is little difference except in the treatment. In Plate 4 colouring has barely been begun, while in Plate 3 it has not been attempted.

Let us cross for a moment to the left bank of the Tiber, and, from a little higher up, pass to the Ponte Salario over the Anio with its view over the Campagna to the north (Plate 6). The bridge with its picturesque tower (resembling that of the Ponte Nomentano, which still exists), was blown up in 1867, so that the view has an interest of its own. To the left is a lofty watch-tower surmounting an ancient tomb : and further again we see the bends of the Anio, its junction with the Tiber, and the hill of Antemnæ on the extreme left. The absolute desola-

PLATE 18

THE COLOSSEUM

(*CLXXXIX*, 37: *National Gallery*, *No.* 596)

This beautiful view of the Flavian amphitheatre from below the Temple of Venus and Rome is familiar to every visitor. The great buttress which saves the outer ring of arches from further collapse had not yet been erected by Pius IX at the point where they abruptly stop, and from the æsthetic point of view, this is certainly a gain. The house on the extreme left has given place to the bank from which now rise the scanty remains of the entrance colonnade of the Baths of Titus.

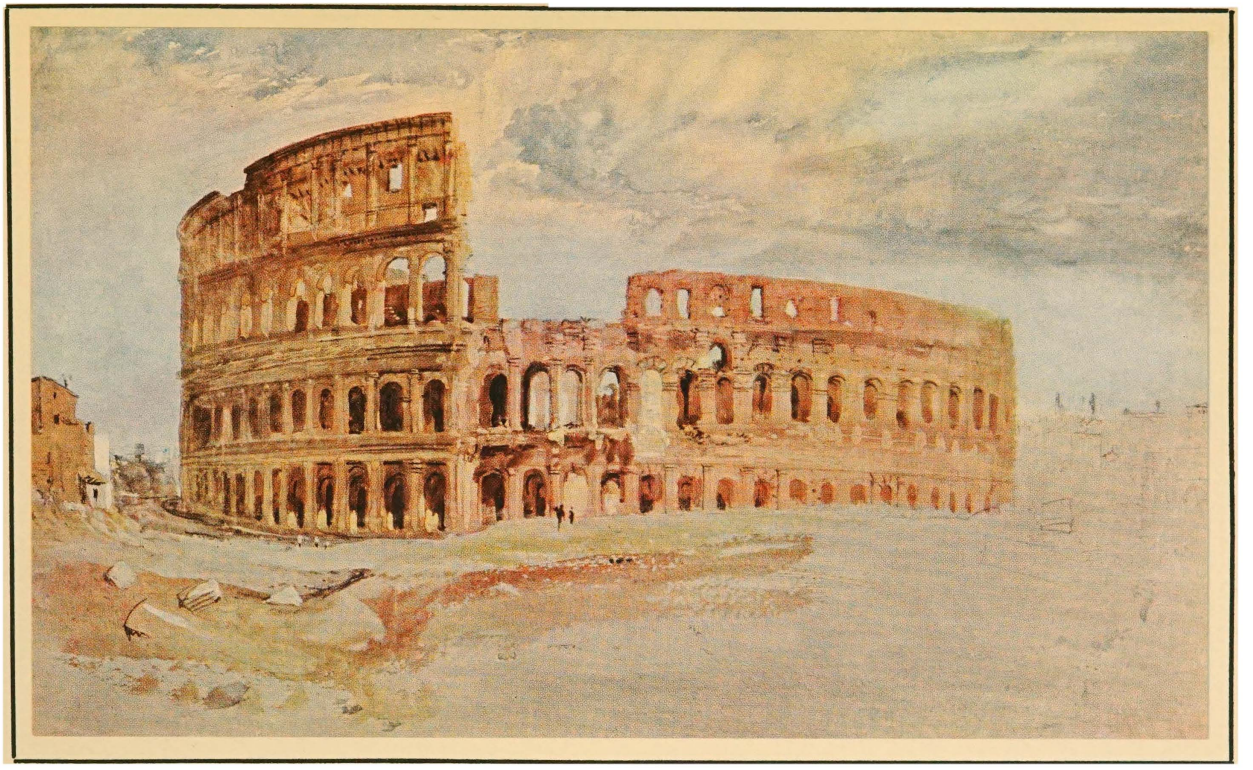


PLATE 19

ARCHES OF CONSTANTINE AND TITUS
(*CLXXXIX*, 40: *National Gallery*, *No.* 599)

The scene is again familiar, and sufficiently explained by its title. We see the Temple of Venus and Rome on the right, the Meta Sudans in the foreground, and behind it the Arch of Titus not yet restored by Valadier, and a lofty tower to the left of it, which has the interest of having once contained the archives of the Roman Church, whence came its name, the Turris Cartularia. It was demolished only ten years after Turner drew it, so that his record is not without importance.

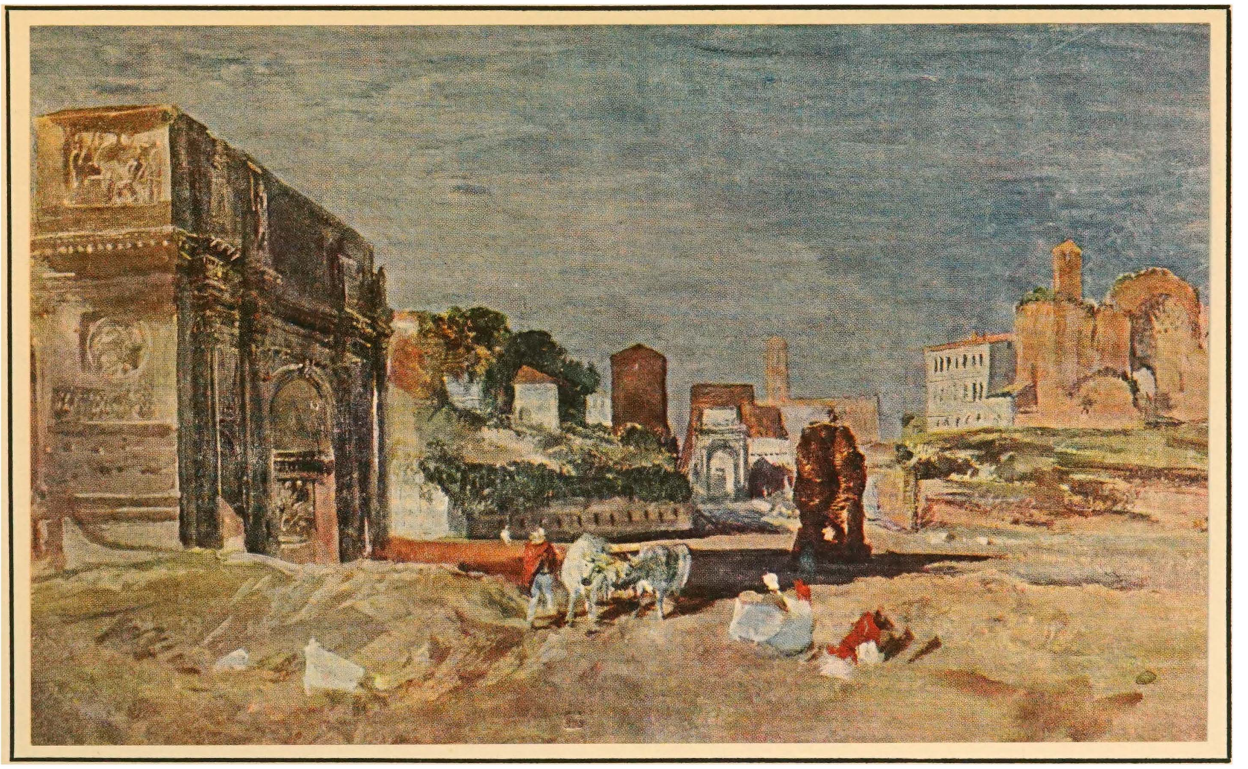


PLATE 20

CHURCH OF SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO

(*CLXXXIX*, 39 : *National Gallery*, *No.* 598)

The church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, with its picturesque apse and campanile, occupies the right centre of the picture, and, by good fortune, as yet lacks the " conspicuous dome " as Baedeker calls it, which was added over the chapel of S. John by Cardinal Howard, the titular, in Pius IX's reign. To the right are the enormous statues on the main façade of the Lateran, and the arches of the aqueduct which Nero built to carry water to the Palatine (from which this view is taken). To the left are the mighty snow mountains above the Liris valley, and the hills near Palestrina; and at the edge of the picture, the massive apse of the church of SS. Quattro Coronati.

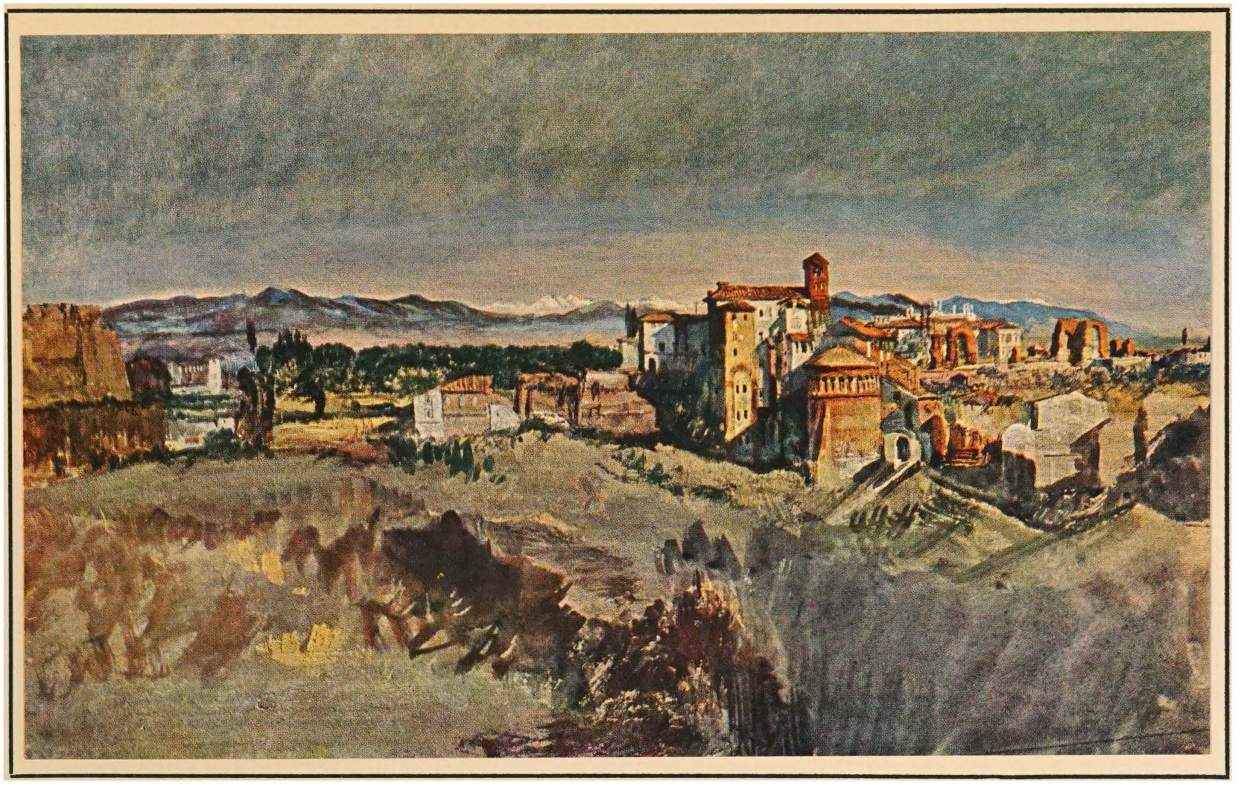
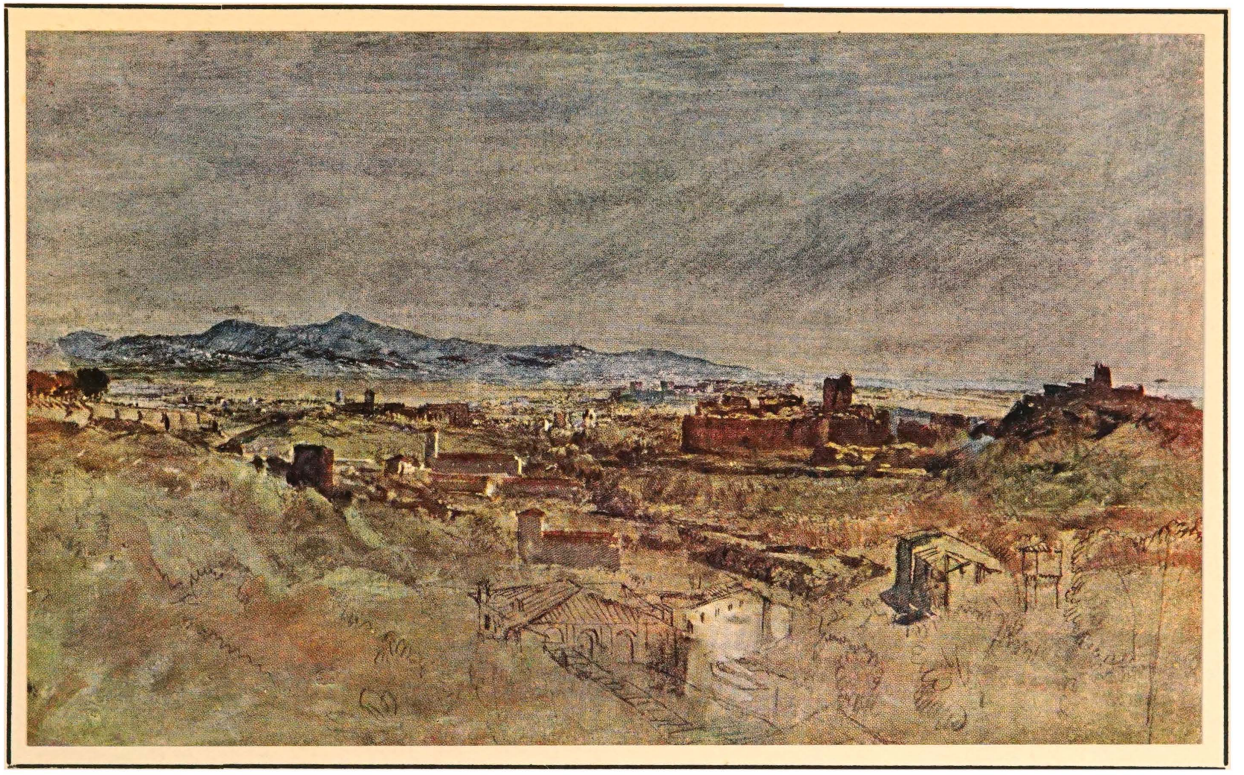


PLATE 21

THE ALBAN MOUNT

(*CLXXXIX*, 8: *National Gallery*, No. 260)

A view looking south-east from the Palatine. In the foreground is the district now occupied by the so-called "Passeggiata Archeologica," or Archæological Park, the formation of which in 1907-14 *completely altered the aspect of this part of Rome, which is now traversed by a wide avenue. On the right is the fortified monastery of S. Balbina on the Aventine: then come the Baths of Caracalla, with the Porta S. Sebastiano, which spans the Appian Way in the distance. Then we see the towers of the churches of S. Sisto and S. Giovanni a Porta Latina: while on the extreme left are the pines of the Villa Mattei. In the background are the Alban Hills.*



tion of the Campagna—now undergoing a complete transformation—is well shown in this view.

We may next admire our artist's skilful delineation of the Piazza del Popolo (Plate 7), which was then the first introduction of travellers to the Eternal City. After crossing the Ponte Molle, they passed for two miles along the narrow Via Flaminia, and reached the Porta del Popolo. There this fine Piazza burst upon their view, and most of those who have recorded their impressions on entering the city have been conscious of the grandeur of the entrance gate and the splendour of the Piazza. "Shall I ever forget," writes Beckford, "the sensations I experienced when I entered an avenue between terraces and ornamented gates of villas (heu! quantum mutatus ab illo!) which leads to the Porta del Popolo, and beheld the square, the domes, the obelisk, the long perspective of streets and palaces opening beyond, all glowing with the vivid red of sunset!" The Piazza has to some extent changed since Turner's time: for it is clear from this drawing that the completion of Valadier's scheme for its remodelling must be placed not earlier than his day,[21] and, indeed, as contemporary guide-books show, occurred in 1827-28. For the rest there has been comparatively little alteration: the twin churches of S. Maria di Monte Santo and S. Maria dei Miracoli at the entrance to the Corso, and the large church and dome of S. Carlo al Corso are the most prominent among a group of towers and campanili which rise all through this part of Rome. The prominent building on the left, which by 1829 had given way to the Hôtel des Iles Britanniques (now the Hôtel de Russie), familiar under that name to British travellers of a century ago, was then the Palazzo Lucernari, and was only reconstructed with the rest of the Piazza a few years after Turner's visit. His is one of the last records of a building which has now disappeared, and about which but little seems to be known.

[21] See the article on "The Piazza del Popolo," by T. Ashby and S. R. Pierce, in "Town Planning Review," XI, 2 (December, 1924), 75-96, and especially page 90. The dating of Hakewill's drawing for his engraving to 1800 there proposed is impossible: but Turner's drawing shows that some progress had been made with the hemicycle below the Pincio; though the old fountain is still in position near the obelisk, and the houses on the west side of the Piazza have not been touched.

Plate 8 takes us back to the right bank of the Tiber, and shows us the Campanile of S. Spirito in Sassia: behind it is Castel S. Angelo, with the Ponte S. Angelo, leading to it. On the left are the Prati di Castello, then occupied by fields and gardens, but now a mass of streets and houses: while in the background are as always the mountains, with Soracte standing alone on the left, and Monte Mario, so often our viewpoint, on the edge of the picture. The Villa Barberini, above the church of S. Spirito in Sassia, near the Porta S. Spirito, has served as a viewpoint—and a rather unusual one—for this and two more (Plates 5 and 9) of the sketches which we have reproduced, and at least one other which is not here given. Plate 5 (not therefore from the Villa Lante, as Finberg states), looks straight at the point of the bend of the Tiber just above the church of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, the dome of which rises straight above the river bank. We are therefore looking upstream on the left to the Ponte S. Angelo, and downstream on the right to the Ponte Sisto; the little white spot on the latter is the famous "occhio," a round opening through which the river only runs when it is in high flood.

On the left, as in our Plate 8, but seen in more detail, and not touched with colour—for the sketch is unfinished—is the dignified Campanile of S. Spirito, a work of the time of Sixtus IV, "perhaps the noblest tower of the early Renaissance": and to the same period belongs the hospital with its striking octagonal dome, which is seen close by, in front of the Castel S. Angelo. Over the Ponte Sisto are the towers of the Aventine, and, on the extreme right, the church of S. Pietro in Montorio on the Janiculum. Between the extreme points is the low ground (in Roman times the Campus Martius) which the densely crowded mediæval city occupied, whereas in classical times this flat plain was outside the enceinte altogether. In the background are the hills of Rome itself, and beyond are the mountains which guard the passage southward, and make the site the key to the possession of Italy.

Plate 9, taken from the garden of the same villa, looks towards S. Peter's and its colonnades, and the Vatican. The great palace where the Pope resides, the work of Domenico Fontana, towers above the obelisk: and we see right into the

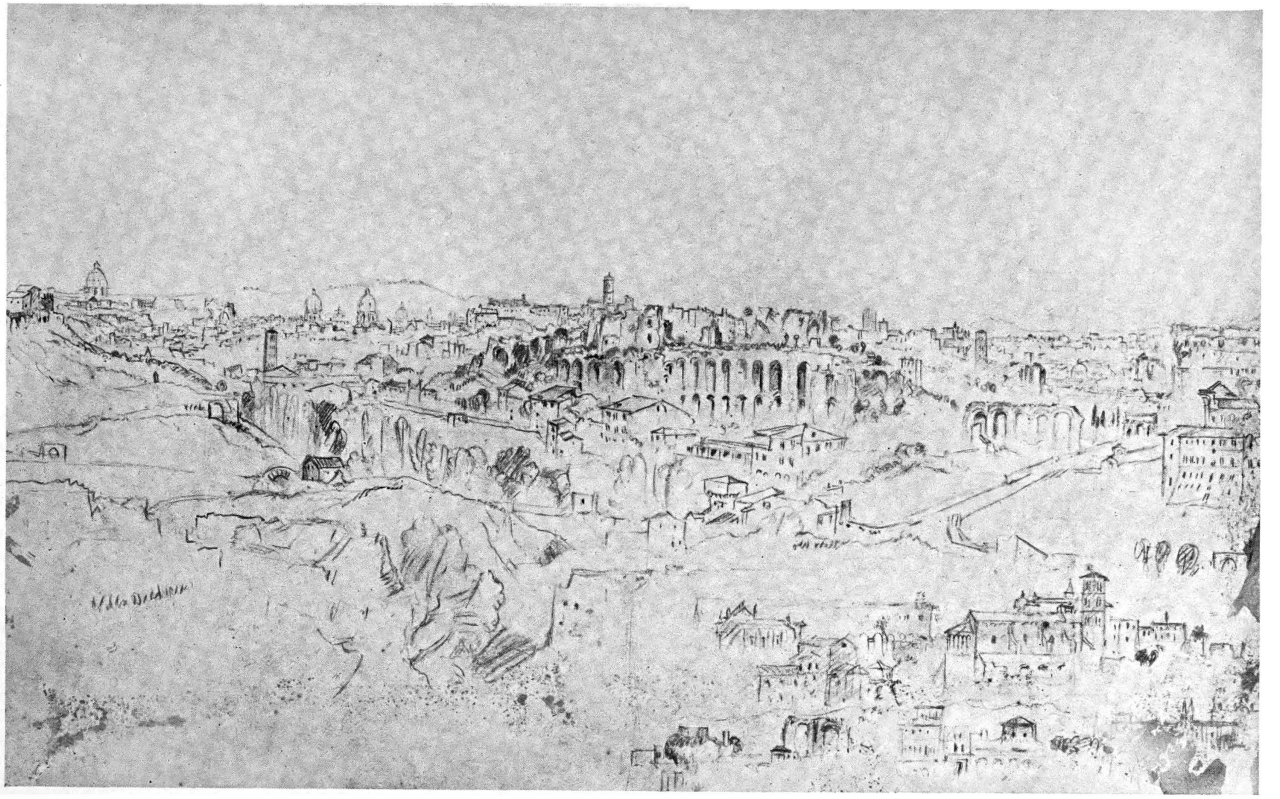


PLATE 22. THE PALATINE—PENCIL
(*CLXXXIX, 22 : National Gallery, No.* 274)

Cortile di S. Damaso with its loggia. In the immediate foreground, on a terrace wall, stands a great Roman earthenware jar (a dolium, once used for the storage of oil or grain) : behind it is a building belonging to the Villa Barberini; and to the left, behind the curve of the colonnade of S. Peter's, is the Palazzo Cesi, which in the sixteenth century contained one of the most important collections of classical sculpture in Rome, long ago dispersed to the four winds.

Our next view (Plate 10) is taken from the slopes of the Janiculum, just below the Villa Lante. S. Pietro in Montorio is still high up on our right, while the view is bounded by the Palazzo Corsini on our left, once the residence of that strange being Queen Christina of Sweden, who left her throne, became a Catholic, and spent the rest of her life in Rome. Behind is the Palazzo Farnese, and behind again the Esquiline and the Capitol. In the middle distance in the centre is the Tiber island with its twin bridges and the many campanili of Trastevere; and in the background, as always, the hills—this time the Palestrina group and the Alban Hills, with the way to Naples through the pass between them.

Next we are transported (Plates 11 and 12) to the north-eastern part of the city; and two fine water-colours show us the city walls adjacent to the Porta S. Lorenzo (through which the Tivoli road passes), first inside and then out, our *point de repère* being the great nymphæum, wrongly, but conveniently, called the Temple of Minerva Medica, once, as Turner shows us, in picturesque and romantic surroundings, but now the first object that is seen when one approaches the railway station. Once more Turner's record, apart from its beauty, is a precious one, for the upper part of the dome fell only nine years later. It may be interesting to notice that what appears to be an aqueduct is really a misinterpretation of some arches belonging to the internal gallery of the wall of Aurelian, and that this mistake appears to have influenced Turner in the representation he gives of them in Plate 12.

Plate 13 is a view of the mountains east of Rome, with the twin summits of Monte Terminillo on the left, and, in the centre the peaks of Monte Velino, also gleaming with snow. Below the latter is the long line of the white houses of Tivoli—of that

part of it, that is, which overlooks the Campagna—and to the right are more snowy summits. Turner's point of view was probably somewhere outside the Porta S. Lorenzo.

The remainder of the views we have chosen take us to the centre of the ancient city, the ruins of which exercised a great fascination upon our artist. The first view (Plate 14) shows the Forum as it was in his day, when it deserved its name of Campo Vaccino. On the left is the avenue of trees which traversed its whole length, and behind is the tower of the Capitol surmounting the Palace of the Senator : in the centre the arch of Septimius Severus half buried, with the church of S. Maria in Aracoeli behind : further to the right is the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, with the lower portion of its columns hidden, as they were until a few years back, and to the extreme right the door of the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano, the level of which had been raised in the seventeenth century, and has only recently been lowered. A procession, headed by a cross-bearer, is shown approaching it.

Another view (Plate 15) is taken from one of the upper terraces of the Farnese gardens. On the left are the open arcades of the Casino Farnese, now the office and dwelling-house of Comm. Giacomo Boni, whose work as director of excavations on the Forum and Palatine has given us back so much of the relics of Rome's past glories. Over the terrace we see the arches of the great Basilica of Constantine; and close to us in picturesque confusion lie marble fragments of the decoration of the imperial palace.

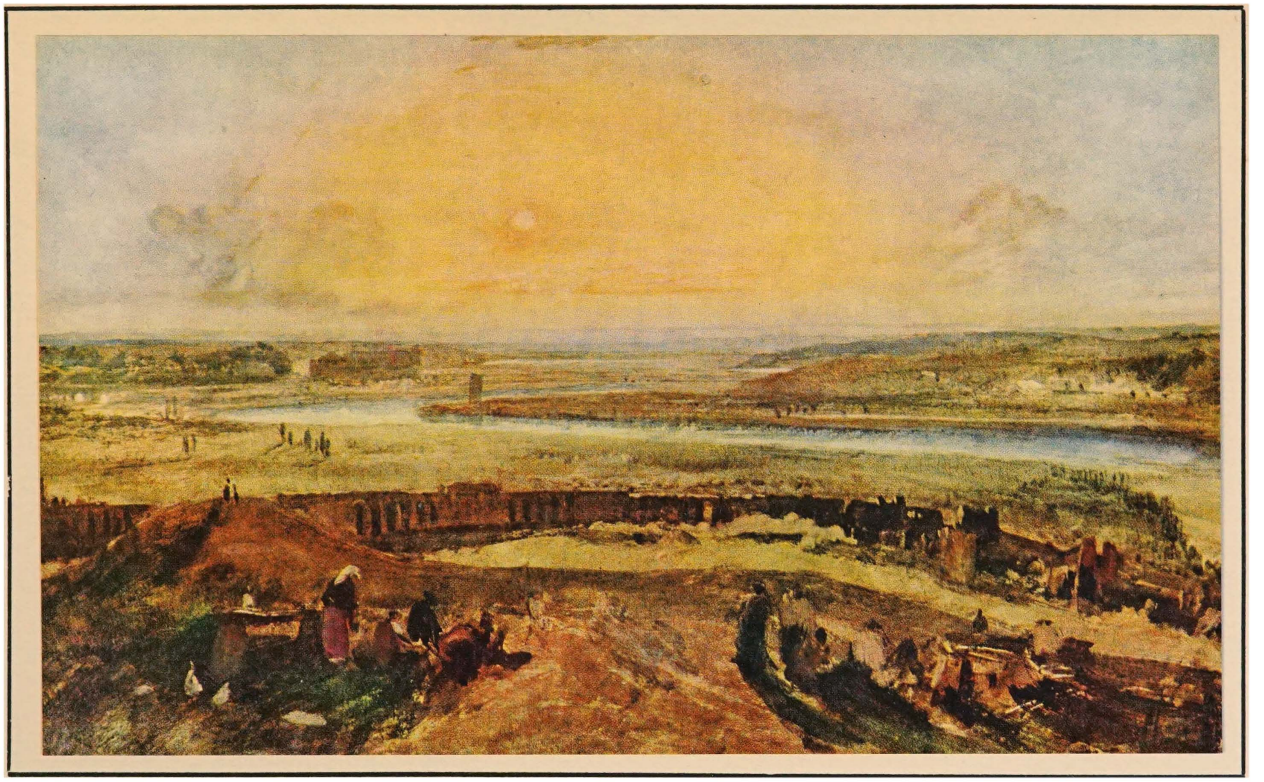
The next view (Plate 16) from a little further south, shows us the great Basilica again, the church of S. Francesca Romana, with its tall campanile, planted on the temple of Venus and Rome, and the vast Colosseum, which, as we shall see, had a great fascination for Turner. We see it again in the next view (Plate 17); but the foreground is occupied by the Arch of Constantine, seen from the south. Turner has made a most accurate study of the details of it, representing even the individual figures of the reliefs with which it is decorated (most of them taken from earlier buildings) and has even attempted to copy the inscription, not with very great success, as his knowledge of Latin was obviously not very advanced.

PLATE 23

ROMAN CAMPAGNA: SUNSET

(*CLXXXVII*, 43: *National Gallery*, No. 329)

A view from Monte Testaccio looking down the Tiber Valley. Here Turner has recorded for us a scene now completely changed. In his day the Monte Testaccio—formed, strange to relate (as indeed its name implies) entirely of broken jars, which had been used for the conveyance of foodstuffs to Rome—still overlooked a district where not a house rose, and the peace of sunset is most impressive. We see the Aurelian wall sweeping round the foot of the hill from the Porta S. Paolo towards the river. Beyond it there are but few buildings to be seen, except a tower at the point of the river bend, and the great mass of S. Paolo fuori le Mura (St. Paul's outside the walls) which Turner was one of the last to see before its destruction in 1823. *Now the scene is changed completely—the railway and the gasworks are just outside the walls: and within them the only oasis is the Protestant cemetery, where Keats and Shelley lie.*



A charming view of the Colosseum (Plate 18) is familiar to every visitor, but Turner's rendering has a great deal of subdued beauty. The same remarks apply to the next (Plate 19) except that Turner's representation of the Turris Cartularia, where the records of the Church of Rome were once kept, to the left of the Arch of Titus, is one of the last memorials of that building, which was demolished in 1828. The north side of the Arch of Constantine is represented in a very different spirit to the painstaking accuracy evinced in Plate 17.

The church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (Plate 20), with its picturesque apse and campanile, occupies the right centre of the picture, and, by good fortune, as yet lacks the "conspicuous dome," as Baedeker calls it, which was added over the chapel of St. John by Cardinal Howard, the titular, in Pius IX's reign. To the right are the enormous statues on the main façade of the Lateran, and the arches of the aqueduct which Nero built to carry water to the Palatine (from which this view is taken). To the left are the mighty snow mountains above the Liris valley, and the hills near Palestrina; and at the edge of the picture, the massive apse of the church of SS. Quattro Coronati.

Plate 21 shows a view looking south-east from the Palatine. In the foreground is the district now occupied by the so-called "Passeggiata Archeologica," or Archæological Park, the formation of which in 1907-14 completely altered the aspect of this part of Rome, which is now traversed by a wide avenue. On the right is the fortified monastery of S. Balbina on the Aventine: then come the Baths of Caracalla, with the Porta S. Sebastiano, which spans the Appian Way, in the distance. Then we see the towers of the churches of S. Sisto and S. Giovanni a Porta Latina: while on the extreme left are the pines of the Villa Mattei. In the background are the Alban Hills.

One of Turner's finest drawings, in which the beauty of the detail is especially remarkable, shows the valley between the Cælian and the Aventine as it was in his day. The view (Plate 22) is taken from behind S. Balbina on the lesser half of the Aventine ("Villa Balbinæ" is written in the left-hand

bottom corner of the drawing) near the west corner of the baths of Caracalla. The great arches which carried the palace of Septimius Severus occupy the centre of the picture: and in front of them is a row of houses, which has since been removed. The picturesque Torre della Moletta is seen still nearer; it marks the position of the curved end of the Circus Maximus, the area of which, then occupied only by gardens, but until recently the site of the gasworks, and still devoted to industrial purposes, stretches to the left towards the Campanile of S. Maria in Cosmedin. In the centre of the background is the tower of the Capitol, unchallenged as yet by the great monument, and to the right and left the rest of the city. In the middle distance on the right is the road leading to the Arch of Constantine, and on the extreme right the church of S. Gregorio, the *point de départ* of the little sketch on the right below, which continues the view, showing the rest of the Colosseum and the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

A view from Monte Testaccio is seen in Plate 23, looking down the Tiber Valley. Here, too, Turner has recorded for us a scene now completely changed. In his day the Monte Testaccio—formed, strange to relate (as indeed its name implies) entirely of broken jars, which had been used for the conveyance of foodstuffs to Rome—still overlooked a district where not a house rose, and the peace of sunset is most impressive. We see the Aurelian wall sweeping round the foot of the hill from the Porta S. Paolo towards the river. Beyond it there are but few buildings to be seen, except a tower at the point of the river bend, and the great mass of S. Paolo fuori le Mura (St. Paul's outside the walls) which Turner was one of the last to see before its destruction in 1823. Now the scene is changed completely—the railway and the gasworks are just outside the walls: and within them the only oasis is the Protestant cemetery, where Keats and Shelley lie.

PLATE 24

TIVOLI: TOWN WITH CASCADES AND THE CAMPAGNA

(*CLXXXVII*, 32: *National Gallery*, No. 339)

The view does not show the main fall of the Anio which, in Turner's day, still discharged its waters into the deep and gloomy gorge below the temples, which tradition has attributed to Vesta and the Sibyl; but we see the smaller falls, the Cascatelle, which pass by underground channels through the town, and serve for its various factories and mills. The town stands on the hill to the left; but we may see more of it in another view (Plate 25). Lower down on a projecting spur is the Villa of Mæcenas; while, to the right a hill with rounded top was once occupied by a huge Roman villa, that of Quintilius, the friend of Horace, whose own villa was a little further to the right again, under the monastery of S. Antonio. Between its steep banks the Anio hurries to the open Campagna. Here, too, there has been change: the exigencies of modern life have made a placid lake where Horace saw a rushing river.

V

Turner's Visions of Tivoli

The drawings dealing with Tivoli, a place which seems to have greatly attracted him, are mainly contained in two sketch-books (CLXXXIII and CLXXXVII). The former contains some fifty pencil sketches, entirely of Tivoli, mostly done on paper tinted with grey, with the high lights wiped out; and of this style we have selected four specimens, including one from the second book, in which pencil sketches (some on leaves similarly prepared) are interspersed with water-colours. Tivoli, as all visitors to Rome know, lies in an open situation looking out to the sunset and the sea. Here were most of the villas of the aristocracy of ancient Rome of which we have knowledge, facing Rome itself and commanding an uninterrupted view of the Campagna; and this was the Tibur Superbum of which Horace speaks. But the study of Horace's writings[22] makes it clear that for him there was another Tibur, where he himself lived, which was probably that of Catullus also—" the Tibur of Albunea, of the grove of Tiburnus, of fruit-orchards wet with the spray of cascades, and the headlong fall of the river, ' where Anio leaps in foam.' " The northern part of the hill on which Tivoli stands overhangs the deep gorge of the Anio, which here makes a leap of some 350 feet down to the level of the plains below. The river flows round it on the east and north; on the east is the great waterfall which was formed in 1826-35 by Pope Gregory XVI, who cut two new tunnels, and thereby saved the town from the constant perils of inundation and even actual destruction. On the north the steep slopes are clothed with vineyards, and then, a little further on, they are occupied by mills and factories of various kinds, some of them of respectable antiquity, which derive their motive power from a branch of the river which travels in a subterranean channel under the town.

The outfalls of these streams form the Cascatelle, a series of minor waterfalls which rejoin the main stream in two or more

[22] " Horace's Villa at Tivoli," by G. H. Hallam and T. Ashby, " Journal of Roman Studies," IV (1914), 121 sq.

leaps. The lowest of these waterfalls pass through the arcades of a building which long tradition has baptised as the Villa of Mæcenas, while modern research has proved that it was a large edifice belonging to the Augustales, a body which maintained the worship of the emperor, and, at Tivoli, also took an active part in the cult of Hercules, the tutelary deity of the city. The lofty substructions, through the lower storeys of which a branch of the Roman road to Tibur passed, supported a great arcaded courtyard connected with the temple, which itself probably stood higher up, on the site of the present cathedral. This building marks the western extremity of the town. It was a site on the north side of the gorge, opposite the waterfall, which was in all probability, that of the Villa of Horace, now marked by the low straggling white convent of Sant' Antonio. Here the roar of the water is always in one's ears : the distant city of Rome is framed in the green slopes of the gorge : the view is far more intimate, far more secluded, than that from the slopes to the south of the town.

It was this side of Tivoli, too, which had appealed to British artists of the latter half of the eighteenth century. Richard Wilson, James Skelton, Jacob More, Francis Towne, and many others of less note, had been attracted to this mighty cascade and to the rocky depths into which it fell.

The water-colour sketch (Plate 24) from the second sketch-book is one of the two water-colours of Tivoli, all the rest which deal with it, even in this book, being in pencil—an instructive commentary on Turner's method of work. The point of view is from the back of the temples, looking across at the cathedral, with its pointed Campanile. Lower down, on another projecting cliff, is the so-called Villa of Mæcenas.

Plate 25 gives us a charming view taken from the foot of the Monte Catillo (Catillus, an Arcadian, according to some, an Argive, according to others, was one of the legendary founders of Tibur) which lies to the east of the town, just across the Anio. The spot from which Turner drew it must have been exactly above where the river now issues from its twin tunnels and plunges into the abyss. Across the gorge we see on the left the bridge over the Anio just before the old fall, itself unseen, and the buildings of the upper part of the town : the famous

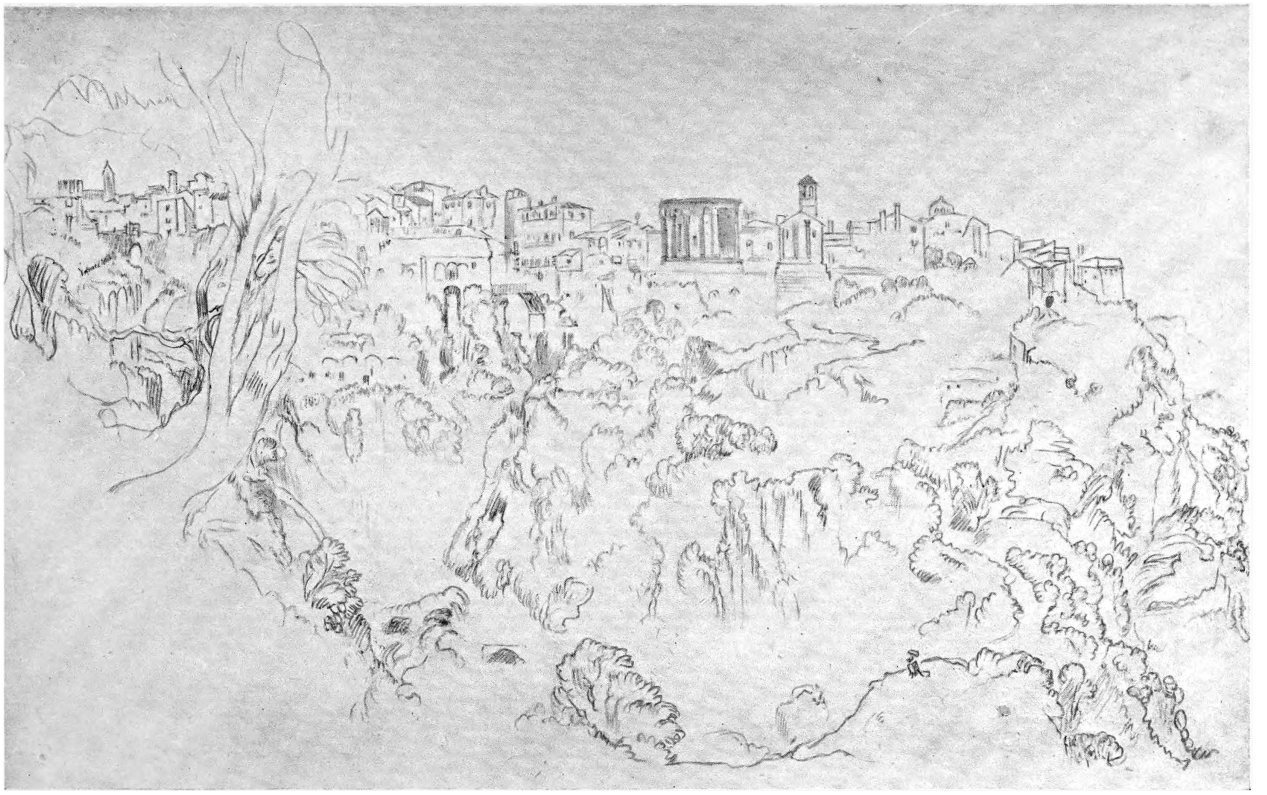


PLATE 25. TEMPLE OF VESTA, TIVOLI—PENCIL.
(*CLXXXVII*, 30: *National Gallery*, *No.* 302)

PLATE 26. THE VILLA OF MÆCENAS AND CAMPAGNA—PENCIL
(*CLXXXIII, 4: Tate Gallery*)

PLATE 27. ARCADES AND WATERS—PENCIL
(*CLXXXIII*, 6: *Tate Gallery*)

PLATE 28. THE VILLA OF MÆCENAS, TIVOLI—PENCIL
(*CLXXXIII*, 23 : *Tate Gallery*)

temples which bear the traditional names of Vesta and the Sibyl are further to the right.

A third view (Plate 26) from the first book, like the other two which follow, is taken from the lower part of the town with an arcade on the extreme left supporting a level space, now known as the Piazza dell'Olmo. It was connected with the temple of Hercules. To the right is the Villa of Mæcenas once more, which, with the wooded hillside below, is now largely occupied by factories and the electric light works of Rome. But the wonderful view of the Campagna, with the Anio winding towards it through its narrow valley, is still the same as ever. The faint line on the horizon shows where this vast expanse, itself so like a sea, fades into the distant coastline.

Yet another drawing (Plate 27), remarkable for its audacious and splendid perspective, was taken from the left bank of the river, and looks back upon the scenes we have been studying. The water is seen issuing from the Roman arches, and mingling with the hurrying grey-green waters below. We see the arcades which support the Piazza dell'Olmo, and the campanile of the cathedral towering above them : while to the left is the secluded gorge which Horace loved so well.

Our last view of Tivoli (Plate 28) is taken from beneath the aged olives which grow on the site of the villa attributed (without warrant) to Propertius' mistress Cynthia, some arcades of which are perhaps seen on the right. Above is the great Villa of Quintilius, the friend of Horace : and, as we clearly see, we are looking across to the Villa of Mæcenas on the left. Between the two is the country stretching towards Zagarolo, looking flat from above, but really traversed by deep ravines, though the level of the hills between them is more or less uniform. It rises towards the pass between Palestrina and the Alban Hills, which the railway to Naples traverses.

It is sad to have to conclude by noting that the necessities of modern industry are pleaded as a sufficient reason for suppressing in whole or in part the flow of water both over the main cascade and over the Cascatelle. The diminution in the volume of the former is already considerable, though the latter have suffered less. Protests have been raised in the Italian Press—it is a mistake to suppose nowadays, whatever may have been the

case in the past, that there are not people in Italy who are alive to the beauties of their country, and ready to do their best to preserve them—but it is hardly to be hoped that the waterfalls will not suffer, and other places as well. A recent writer deplores the effect on the Villa d'Este, which will lose half its charm if its fountains are deprived of their supply, which is the source of their life. Let us hope that they at least may be spared!